1435.

IRELAND's MIRROR;

EXHIBITING

A PICTURE OF HER PRESENT STATE,

WITH

A GLIMPSE OF HER FUTURE PROSPECTS.

ALSO,

CURSORY OBSERVATIONS ON THE ALARMING MEASURES *NOW* GOING FORWARD.

Magnus ab integro ſæculorum naſcitur ordo.

K I. D.

By D. T.

DUBLIN:

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PREFACE.

COUNTRYMEN,

YOU boaſt of the remote antiquity of your nation; yet you are behind moſt of the youngeſt in all the great objects of civil ſociety: is it not worth while to enquire into the cauſes of this humiliating inferiority? The enemies of the Iriſh name extol the advantages which partial nature had granted to this favoured iſle, from the prejudiced Giraldus, to the more candid Littleton. Is our backwardneſs imputable to a natural incapacity on the part of our people? Has nature been niggardly of her gifts to the inhabitants, while ſhe was prodigal of her bleſſings to the ſoil? by no means:—We learn from the ſame authorities, that the ancient Iriſh came gifted from the hand of nature, with the moſt enviable advantages, ſtrength, beauty and agility, quick diſcernment, warm paſſions, lively feelings, all indications of uncommon natural powers; they were foremoſt in the ſpecies of literature which prevailed in their day;—was it their fault if that was not equal to the ſciences of the 18th century.

Need I mention how often they have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their talents in foreign countries? To what then are we to attribute this degraded ſtate, which invites the contempt of our haughty, domineering neighbours? I anſwer with Lord

Littleton, *the want of public ſpirit and political knowledge.* The Iriſh people at all times engroſſed by their family quarrels, or by the jealouſy and diſſentions of the Engliſh pale and Iriſh natives, old and new ſettlers, or the ſtill more deadly animoſities of religious factions, fomented by the inveterate hoſtilities of ambitious prieſts and rival hierarchies, found no leiſure to ſtudy, or promote the welfare of the kingdom; they were too much occupied in the pious taſk of ruining and exterminating one another, to beſtow a thought or an effort on the means of their common ſafety, accordingly they fell an eaſy prey to their invaders, and were reduced to that ſtate of vaſſalage, which their conduct merited.

In our days we have witneſſed the ſymptoms of a happy change, the example of America was not altogether loſt on us, we there beheld a people diverſified by language, religion and origin, living in mutual harmony and friendſhip, and by their united efforts, raiſing themſelves to the rank of a free and independent nation. The noble ardor of the ſucceſsful coloniſts was wafted acroſs the Atlantic: that long-depreſſed portion of our fellow-ſubjects, the Catholics, drooping under the weight of heavy reſtrictions and unjuſt ſuſpicions; were rouſed by a proper feeling of their ſituation, and aſpired to a participation in the benefits of a conſtitution, which their induſtry and valour ſupported and defended; their honeſt and modeſt claims, countenanced by all that was independent and reſpectable among the other ſects, met with partial ſucceſs.

The day that ſees that great object accompliſhed, when all the citizens ſhall enjoy equal laws and equal freedom (not equal power and property, the cry of hypocritical alarm and malicious ſlander) will be to Iriſhmen the proudeſt day that ever dawned on their iſland; it muſt ſoon arrive in ſpite of the miſerable and diſappointed

pointed bigotry of ſome, and the more dangerous manœuvres of a vile and venal faction, which under the name of Proteſtant Aſcendency, in fact, Iriſh deſcendency and a corrupt coalition of undue foreign influence, with domeſtic treachery: under the baneful influence of this venality, we have loſt all the benefits of volunteer patriotiſm, the acknowledged rights of independent and imperial Ireland, have been frittered away by a ſeries of arts, purchaſed with Iriſh gold from an Iriſh p————t.

But friends, let us not deſpond, this blaſted reprobated ſyſtem cannot long hold its ground againſt the riſing force of public opinion, its arrogance, its raſh deſpotiſm only haſtens the moment of its final defeat. An attention to public concerns, political diſcuſſion and knowledge are becoming hourly more general: theſe are at once ſymptoms and cauſes of a growing public ſpirit; by mutual compariſon of ideas and communication of knowledge, the people find to their aſtoniſhment that they are brothers and friends; that they have a common intereſt, and muſt neceſſarily riſe or fall with one another, and their country, ſeeing that their lives and fortunes are embarked in the ſame veſſel; that diſunion, under whatever pretence attempted, of religion or politics, is the ſtratagem of their government for traitorous purpoſes; that union is the only baſis of national glory; by this alone we may hope to arrive at that enviable pitch of proſperity, which our neareſt neighbours and moſt jealous rivals, declare us capable of attaining, under the operation of a patriotic government.

The greateſt Engliſh politicians declare it an happy event for Great Britain, that Ireland was not retained by the Danes or poſſeſſed of an independent government, becauſe ſay they, that country with all its natural advantages, poſſeſſed of an en-

lightened, patriotic government, would become a dangerous rival to the commerce of Great Britain. See Anderſon's Hiſtory of Commerce, and Lyttleton's Life of Henry 2d. What? rival the flouriſhing manufactures, the extenſive commerce of Britain: this is confeſſing that the connection ſo much extolled by ſome, is to us a connection of fetters and poverty, deſtined to keep in eternal infancy and dependance, poor and deſpiſed, a people capable of ranking with the greateſt and moſt honourable nations of the earth, by falling into the hands of thoſe who fancy they have an intereſt in our degredation and miſery, according to their own confeſſion, we experience the worſt poſſible ſcourge of a country, *i. e.* the government of its enemies. This erroneous policy has been uniformly manifeſted in her treatment of us: when triumphant ſhe ſhackled our commerce, when defeated, ſhe relaxed her rigour, thus ſhe has taught us that the hour of her pride will be the hour of her tyranny, and that the proſperity of Ireland muſt depend on the humiliation of Great Britain.

Is it impoſſible to undeceive our haughty miſtaken ſiſter? Is it impoſſible to convince her, that the only way of preſerving the connexion, is by making it beneficial to both parties? Such terms, however, muſt be obtained by domeſtic union and ſteady perſeverance; we muſt ſpeak a little to her paſſions as well as to her reaſon. It is to be hoped with the example of America in her recollection, ſhe will not drive us to extremities: that people had not recourſe to reſiſtance, until all peaceable modes of redreſs had failed. Sat ſapienti.

The comparative merits of monarchy and republicaniſm, may be diſcuſſed for amuſement and information, we in this country are ſatisfied of the excellence of the Britiſh conſtitution in theory, and lament that it has not had a fair trial, becauſe it

never

uever was practically eſtabliſhed; we wiſh to realize it in the entire perfection of all its branches, and extend the protecting ſhade of the conſtitutional tree of liberty over the whole land and its inhabitants, without diſtinction; but this is innovation, granted: ſo was the reformation, the revolution, the conſtitution itſelf; all the arts and ſciences had a beginning, and the creation of the world was the greateſt poſſible innovation. Are not thoſe men who cry out againſt innovation, conſtantly innovating againſt that conſtitution which ſerves them as a theme of declamation, the neceſſity of ſtrengthening the hands of government, furniſhes an eternal pretence to wicked or incapable miniſters, whoſe deſigns required more than the ordinary means of ſupport allowed by the conſtitution. What was the ſeptennial act? An innovation of the moſt daring kind, a flagitious robbery of the rights and privileges of the people of England, of the rights which conſtituted the only title of the houſe of Hanover to the crown; but it was reſerved for our days to ſee the maſk entirely thrown off. The laſt mortal blow ſtruck at the vitals of liberty. Truth and juſtice muſt triumph by reaſon and virtue.

November 10, 1795.

AN

ADDRESS

TO THE

LANDED AND COMMERCIAL INTERESTS

OF IRELAND,

ON THE MOST IMPORTANT SUBJECTS.

THE ſituation of our dear country at preſent, whether externally or internally conſidered, is ſuch as cannot be viewed without the deepeſt concern, by any true well-wiſher to the proſperity of this devoted iſland; ſo much favoured by God and nature, and ſo much injured by man.—Involved as it is in a moſt ſanguinary, expenſive, and, I fear, likewiſe unjuſt war, and afflicted within, by religious and political diſſentions, while thoſe who have naturally the greateſt intereſt in the reſtoration of peace, mutual harmony, and the conſequential revival of tranquility and induſtry, ſeem to be improvidently hurried on by the paſſions and errors of the moment, ſeduced by the arts, or corrupted by the gold of the intereſted, or intimidated by the panic terrors, raiſed by deſigning alarmiſts, or by the puny turbulence of a miſerable, half-ſtarving peaſantry (whom it would be eaſy to reduce to order, by a ſimple act of juſtice) to concur without the trouble of inveſtigation, in the moſt diſaſtrous meaſures,

meaſures, dictated by ambition, anger, and fear, voting away immenſe ſums of money in ſupport of wild and wicked projects, without the compliment of a debate.—The unexampled coalition of all the landed intereſt, in ſupport of a conteſt, as foreign to us as thoſe of Gengis Khan, or Tamerlane, except as far as we muſt take part in, and bear a great proportion of the burdens of all wars entered upon by our kind ſiſter iſland, who gratifies Ireland, with a full ſhare of the diſtreſſes and waſte of blood and property, inſeparable from thoſe conflicts of rival ambition, while ſhe prudently reſerves for the more favoured inhabitants of Albion, the advantages that may be reaped from the effuſion of Iriſh blood, and the profuſion of Iriſh money; nor can we flatter ourſelves with any probability of relief from thoſe evils hereafter.

To judge of the future, by the experience of the paſt, the proſpect preſents nothing conſolatory—every ten or fifteen years, drafted to the ſlaughter-houſe by myriads, cruſhed by an enormous and accumulating load of taxes, already too heavy to be borne by our poverty; defrauded, as we are, of all participation in thoſe lucrative branches of commerce, which enables England to barely ſupport her unwieldly charge; the ſame phyſical and moral cauſes which have ſtimulated the reſtleſs ambition, and the intolerant commercial monopoly of England, to diſturb the repoſe of mankind ſo often, muſt ſtill continue to goad them on to deſtruction. The national character, if not materially unaltered, has not, I fear, undergone any great change for the better; the rage of conqueſt, and the thirſt of gold, ſeem to have abſorbed in their breaſt all other paſſions.—Thoſe unſocial and unjuſt purſuits are the idols to which all principles are ſacrificed, every human feeling, all ſenſe of true honour, honeſty and humanity are trampled under-foot, the very expreſſion of thoſe feelings, in the eyes of a corrupting and corrupt government, is ſedition and jacobiniſm, and the moſt virtuous characters are eaſily convicted before the tribunal of a degenerate depraved public, of dangerous ſingularities, or inſidious affectation of unfaſhionable virtues, to cover dangerous deſigns, this ſame people, eaſily faſcinated by the impoſing illuſory ſplendor of military operations, as eaſily inflamed by the illiberal ſtupid national antipithies, ſo deeply rooted in the arrogant and ſelfiſh John Bull, fired by the inſatiable thirſt of gain, of territorial conqueſt and commercial monopoly, dominion of the ſeas, &c. ruſh on to war with a forward eagerneſs, at the call of a court and miniſtry ſyſtematically belligerant. John Bull was long the tame vaſſal of feudal lords, the quarrels of

thoſe rajahs broke ſome links of his chains—at length, rouſed into reſiſtance by ſome ſignal acts of oppreſſion, the effervescence of ſome epidemical ſpirit of reform, the throne felt the effects of his reſentment, and fell beneath the ſtrokes of offended patriotiſm: upon the reſtoration, the crown wiſely exchanged prerogative for influence, the art of corruption and managing parliaments, was then firſt introduced, which has ſince grown up to the perfection we witneſs, and devoured all the vital parts of our conſtitution, leaving only the ſhadowy forms: A foreign family ſeated on that throne, which recalled to their affrighted imaginations, the names of two dethroned monarchs, one beheaded, the other exiled, had recourſe to the funding and war ſyſtems, as a ſecurity againſt any ſimilar reverſe. Moſt miſchievous engines, contrived in an evil hour, by ſome malignant fiend, hoſtile to the happineſs of mankind; the Pandora-box, big with ruin and peſtilence to theſe iſlands; the lever of Archimedes, in the hands of miniſters, to raiſe all the weights and balances of the conſtitution and throw them into the ſcale of the crown, upon this new plan, war became deſirable in the eyes of the court, the treaſures of the nation were poured into its lap, and the reſources of futurity anticipated, the repreſentatives of the people purchaſed with the money of the people, to betray the intereſts of their conſtituents, and eventually their own deareſt rights and intereſts, for preſent lucre.

The court and its minions were enriched as the people were impoveriſhed: the ſavings of induſtry and uſeful enterprize were laviſhed in places and penſions, on worthleſs courtiers and treacherous repreſentatives, public corruption pervaded all ranks, with gigantic ſtride, by the example and influence of the venal great: treachery to engagements and the moſt ſacred ties of nature, duty or blood, dereliction of principle, ruthleſs egotiſm, which ſacrificed country and conſtitution to ſelf; throve in proportion as they were encouraged and rewarded, while the oppoſite virtues were derided, diſcountenanced and diſgraced.

Exiled from the ſplendid circles of the levee, the auguſt aſſemblies of parliament, and the haunts of faſhion; conſigned to languiſh in the obſcurity of a remote rural aſylum, poor Aſtrea lingered ſome time before her final flight. The triple alliance of war, corruption, and the funding ſyſtem, by unceaſing and well concerted efforts, have at length made the power of the crown altogether paramount, and given it ſuch an enormous preponderance over the enfeebled remains of the other branches, as renders them perfectly inſignificant, meer tools of the regal authority,

authority, met barely to regiſter royal mandates, until the crown having concentred in itſelf all powers, and levelled the remaining feeble barriers, that guard expiring liberty, the unneceſſary reſtraint of forms and appearances be diſcarded, and the royal edict be proclaimed in the deſpotic tone of abſolute ſovereignty.

This is the goal to which Albion is driving pretty faſt, by her warlike habits, by her commercial monopolies, by her funding ſyſtem, by the unprincipled corruption of her government: the people by being depraved and impoveriſhed at the ſame time (I mean the bulk impoveriſhed) are prepared for ſlavery, while the infaliable engines and means of their ſubjugation are hourly multiplying and increaſing in efficacy; with the accompliſhment of this darling project in view, the court can never want pretexts for hoſtilities, with one or other of its neighbours. Some Nootka Sound, a few beaver ſkins, or the pretence of oppoſing innovation, in a world, inceſſantly varying in its phaſes, will anſwer the purpoſe: from the foregoing obſervations, I think it will be obvious to whoever reflects without prejudice, that England (and conſequently Ireland as long as the connection laſts) is not likely to enjoy a laſting peace. Poor Ireland! alas—you abundantly ſhare all the misfortunes and defeats, the burdens of your proud, ill-natured, ſelfiſh ſtepſiſter; but in the day of her inſolent triumph, and wide extended domination, have you partaken in the ſlighteſt degree of her immenſe advantages? have you been permitted to turn to account the bounties of Providence, the natural produce of your fertile ſoil? were not you forbid to manufacture your own wool into cloth, &c.? Theſe are ſome of the bleſſed fruits of a connection, ſimilar to that of the wolf and the lamb in the fable: by a ſimilar logick, we are not to take up the branches of induſtry which eſcape from her all-graſping hands; we are not to manufacture, the gleanings and ſhreds of our own raw materials, after the demands of her markets are ſupplied.

We are told, we muſt ſtand or fall with Great Britain, we have frequently fallen with her and by her, but never can we expect to riſe with her. We are called upon with confidence to exhauſt ourſelves, in ſupport of her ambitious ſchemes of conqueſt for monopoly; when we would in return claim ſome ſmall ſhare of commercial advantages, or at leaſt the repeal of thoſe ſhameful and cruel reſtrictive acts, that ſhackle our efforts that appal the hand of induſtry and deaden the ſpirit of enterprize, Engliſh monopoly takes the alarm, it is repreſented, that an iſland ſituated as Ireland is, in the boſom of the Atlantic,

poſſeſſing

poſſeſſing ſo great an extent of coaſt, indented by numerous bays and harbours, not to be parallelled in any country of equal extent in the univerſe, for commodiouſneſs, ſafety, depth of water, geographical poſition ; opening their capacious arms to embrace the commerce of Europe, Africa, Aſia, and America, to the ſouth, north and weſt, moſt deep and capacious, where navigation requires veſſels of greateſt burden.

To thoſe advantages, magnified by the Lyncean glance of envy, are added the no leſs important benefits of ſoil, ſcarce equalled in the ſpontaneous fertility of its extenſive plains, the mineral treaſures of its moderate and not barren mountains, whoſe innumerable flocks, rich harveſts, and exhauſtleſs mines, would afford food and employment to almoſt any number of people; watered by numerous navigable rivers, towards every point of the compaſs, whoſe diverging courſes might all be readily connected by means of tributary ſtreams and inland canals, at a moderate expence, into an immenſe chain of inland navigation, which would infuſe its enlivening influence in every direction, through every corner of the land, animating induſtry, arts and manufactures, in its ſalutary progreſs, like the precious fluid which circulates in the veins, diffuſing life and motion through all the limbs. When all thoſe bleſſings of an all-bountiful Providence, thoſe noble prerogatives of nature, are thus oſtentatiouſly detailed, or rather invidiouſly exaggerated, it is aſked with an air of triumph, if it be conſiſtent with the intereſts of England to grant a participation of commerce to her ſiſter iſland, who by means of the above-mentioned reſources, aided by cheapneſs of labour and proviſions, might be able to meet her at foreign markets, with ſuperior advantages ; that it would be folly to raiſe up againſt herſelf ſo dangerous a competitor.

Thus is Ireland called upon in the day of danger, to bear the burden of war, ſpill her blood, and waſte what little can be extorted from her cramped induſtry, the enormous drain of her abſentee lords, and the labours of a famiſhing peaſantry, in the quarrels of her inſolent taſk-maſters; quarrels as foreign to her as thoſe of the immaculate Catherine, or Nadir Shah, except ſhe can glory in the toil of rivetting her own chains. In the day of ſucceſs and proſperity, ſhe is ſpurned as a deſpiſed, though uſeful appendage, her inhabitants, fleeced as tributary ſlaves, and trampled on as proſtrate foes : ſhe has convinced us, by the experience of centuries, that the antipathy of Engliſhmen is deep-rooted, their averſion to us, too ſtubborn to be ſubdued by reaſon, or cancelled by long and ill-requited ſervices ; their hatred

of

of the Iriſh name, a hatred which they imbibe with their nurſes milk, nouriſhed by all the impreſſions of their tender years, it grows with their growth and ſtrengthens by the increaſe of years; their very language and literature, their public and private diverſions, are tinctured with thoſe illiberal and unjuſt prejudices; the expreſſion of thoſe unmanly ſentiments, on their theatres, are applauded with rapture by the young, and received with ſatisfaction even by the graver part of the audience. Thoſe unfriendly diſpoſitions towards us, they have received as a legacy from their anceſtors, and cheriſh as an inviolable depoſit; they are thoſe of a tyrant towards oppreſſed ſlaves, whom he at once hates, contemns and fears; they fear our valour and our numbers; they contemn our want of union and patriotiſm; they hate us as men, as Iriſhmen, as neighbours, whom they long have robbed of their rights and oppreſſed with a galling yoke of deſpotiſm, *pars deſpectiſima ſervientium*, we are in their eyes, the moſt deſpicable portion of their ſlaves.

What can the advocates of a connexion of bondage, diſgrace and poverty, oppoſe to the irreſiſtible language of facts, to the cry of all Ireland, which loudly proclaims the ruin, the infamy of our condition? the unparalleled miſery, the immorality, the degraded ſtate of our naked, ſtarving peaſantry; diſfigured rather than covered by rags, buried in filthy mud ſtyes, pervious to every blaſt, deluged by the rain of Heaven, ſuffocated by the ſmoke of the excrements of cattle, or ſtolen brambles, the only fuel of too many; the only ſauce to their potatoe, ſalt and water; to this deplorable ſtate are the deſcendants of ancient Iriſh families, of all that was reſpectable in the country, reduced by rack-rents, taxes, tythes, want of manufactures, the oppreſſion of the middlemen, and the abſence of thoſe landlords who if reſiding, at leaſt, part of the year on their own eſtates, would circulate a portion of the rents drawn from the labouring poor, among them.

All our evils flow from that peſtilential connexion, which harraſſes Ireland, by means of a treacherous domeſtic faction, who oppreſs and betray the people to ſhare their ſpoils: who become the tools of foreign tyranny, to ſhare its prey, and prefer the ignoble rewards of ſervility and corruption, to the honourable participation of independence, the ſhort-lived pay of miſrule and treaſon, againſt their own and country's rights, to the more ſure, permanent and ample increaſe of their fortunes, through the riſing proſperity, which would reſult from a contrary conduct.

Advocates

Advocates of our diſgrace, can you deny that the upriſe of England is the downfall of Ireland: look back to the victorious reigns of Anne and George the Firſt? At what period was Ireland moſt deſpiſed and ſhackled in its legiſlature, in its commerce and every other function and characteriſtic of a free people: was it not when this boaſted protrectreſs was triumphant over all her rivals: it was then aſſerted that the parliament of England, had a right to bind Ireland in all caſes whatſoever.

Thoſe arbitrary claims were carried into execution, and by a ſtrange perverſion of principle and policy, we were commanded to furniſh materials to Engliſh manufacture, man and victual her fleets and armies, in a word to be altogether ſubſervient to her wants and her greatneſs, as a uſeful and dependant ally; while we were governed on the principles of conqueſt, pillaged and trampled upon as an enemy's country: ours was a government with contempt, the barbarous and unmanly antipathy of falſe zeal, was converted into a ſtate engine, to divide firſt and then enſlave the nation: through the aſcendency of a favoured ſect, which facrificed the national honour and intereſts, the ſacred ties of nature, the ſoundeſt dictates of religion and reaſon, to the animoſities of the politico-religious party, and made its abhorrence of papl uſurpations and bigotry, the pretext for erecting a no leſs papal tyranny, of excluſive ſalvation; with this difference, that the Papiſt excluded the adverſary from the joys of Paradiſe, while the Proteſtant ſhut out the non-conformiſt, from the comforts of this life, from political exiſtence, and all the deareſt privileges of civil ſociety: the ſect was gratified with penal laws and teſts, as the purchaſe of the ſurrender of Ireland's rights.

The freedom of America, and the humiliation of proud Albion, promiſed a favourable change in our condition; our relative importance began to be more felt, in proportion to the decreaſed extent, and exhauſted ſtrength of the empire. Our brave volunteers were in arms, the dæmon of religious diſcord ſeemed for a moment to ſlumber, they ſtipulated ſome mitigation of the code of provincial ſervitude, beneath which the genius of Ireland drooped for ages, the circumſtances were favourable, this country had made ſacrifices beyond her power, in ſupport of that *juſt and neceſſary war*, a tranſitory glow of patriotiſm animated every mind and pervaded all ranks, nor was a petition backed by eighty thouſand bayonets to be ſlighted. But whatever was then conceded from a temporizing policy, was during the ſucceeding peace, fraudulently purloined from us, by the inſidious arts of our ungenerous, overbearing neighbour

bour: our legiſlature became indeed nominally independent, but was ſoon converted into an engine of ſore oppreſſion, by the unexampled corruption introduced and bareſacedly avowed and defended. Places and penſions were multiplied with unbounded prodigality; honours, employments, every thing ſacred and profane, ſet up publicly to auction; while the poor beſotted Iriſh, the devoted *ſwiniſh multitude*, were flayed to raiſe thoſe enormous ſums, laviſhed to purchaſe the venal majority of the *ſoi diſant* independent legiſlature of imperial Ireland.

Deplorable condition! Unhappy people! who will relieve you from the galling fetters impoſed by the vigilant malignity of your oppreſſors, and cemented by your own ſweat and blood? The imperfect ſtate of the repreſentation, contractors for majorities, borough mongers, managers of this ſelf-created aſſembly, who act in the honourable capacity of negro-drivers, exerciſing their delegated truſt of dividing, cruſhing and fleecing the public, to ſhare the ſpoils with their employers: theſe are the intereſted patrons of the preſent iniquitous ſyſtem of Britiſh government, which confers on them a power to ruin and deſtroy, but not to ſave; if an infant manufacture, promiſes to thrive, encourage combinations among the journeymen and tax the material, witneſs the leather tax, and protected combinations. When we ſee ſimilar attempts on the part of the labouring poor in the country, to obtain ſome addition to their much too ſcanty pay of four pence a day, viſited by fire and ſword, hanging and tranſportation; Engliſh monopoly is not jealous of the increaſe of tillage, therefore they do not protect combinations among the peaſantry; whereas the ſmalleſt attempt at manufacture, throws them into a panic. This explains the different treatment of the parties; but Britiſh influence, however injurious to the community at large, we are told, is uſeful to the rich in defending property, and ſupporting the conſtitution; and neceſſary to protect us againſt foreign powers. In anſwer to theſe aſſertions, let us take a ſhort retroſpective view of the hiſtory of this vaunted palladium of property, and conſtitutional freedom? it originated in the treaſon of a domeſtic chief, who, expelled for his crimes and tyranny, ſold his country to a foreign power, on condition of holding his former dynaſty as a fief, depending on his new protector, whoſe vaſſal he became, and whoſe intereſts he promiſed to ſupport in oppoſition to the welfare and dignity of a free and independent nation; a ſwarm of adventurers, crowded to his ſtandard, who obtained large poſſeſſions to the utter ruin of many native families, whoſe diſtricts were deprived of the ancient patrimonies, to make room for colonies from

England

England and Wales. This was the firſt eſſay of the Iriſh-Britiſh faction in the protection of property, nor has it in the leaſt deviated from its original character, during the lapſe of ſo many ages, inſomuch that the whole property of the kingdom, may be ſaid without hyperbole, to have changed hands in the courſe of one century: a cataſtrophe unexampled in the hiſtory of Europe, ſince the days of the Vandals. This was the natural conſequence of ſuch a foreign power eſtabliſhed in the country, whoſe invariable plan of policy conſiſted in dividing and plundering the natives, which the ſuperior wealth and power of England enabled it but too effectually to accompliſh, aided, as it was, by the great influence of the Court of Rome (which ſold Ireland to Henry the Second, in conſideration of a yearly tribute called Peter's Pence) and ſtill more by the hereditary feuds of the chieftans, who ſacrificed the common cauſe to their private quarrels, while they ſingly fell victims to the encroachments of a watchful enemy, ever alert to profit by their diſſentions.

The deſcendants of thoſe firſt ſettlers poſſeſſed of property and influence, would naturally become diveſted of the local prejudices of their anceſtors, form alliances with the ab-original Iriſh, feel their own importance neceſſarily connected with the proſperity of the country, which accordingly, they would not be forward to ſacrifice to the alien intereſt; but as ſoon as any ſymptoms of ſuch a national ſpirit appeared, it was puniſhed by the forfeiture of all the privileges and protection of the Engliſh pale; the delinquent was declared a degenerate Engliſhman, to be dealt with in the ſame hoſtile manner as an Iriſh enemy. The colonial ſpirit was conſtantly recruited by the afflux of new adventurers, who were generally employed as the confidential agents of the junto, until they obtained wealth and ſettlements, and were ſupplanted in their turn by more recent comers; the diſtinction of old and new ſettlers, was in thoſe days, what the different religious perſuaſions are in ours, the means and the pretext for keeping up a fatal and ſilly diſcord, that enfeebled the nation and delivered it up an eaſy prey to its worſe enemies.

The Engliſh pale was in the hands of the Engliſh rulers of that day, what an imperfect repreſentation is in the hands of our preſent miniſtry, an engine of miſgovernment; for it happens, wherever the power is, the will is not often wanting of abuſing authority with impunity. The reformation, which was introduced with a high hand in this country, and attempted to be crammed down the throats of the inhabitants with an unchriſtian

violence, that revolted every mind, cauſed torrents of blood to flow: far be from me the intention of ripping afreſh the ſtill rankling ſores of religious animoſity: no—I ſhall leave to wicked incendiaries, who have of late been too ſucceſsful, the diabolical merit of re-kindling the dying embers of fanatic rage, and diſgracing a religion of peace and benevolence, by the antichriſtian paſſions of its pretended votaries: Let the unwarrantable methods of perſecuting zeal be buried in the ſame grave with the criminal perpetrators of ſo many horrors; the province of hiſtory is not to furniſh fuel to the paſſions, or materials for the vengeful ſpirit of party; but uſeful leſſons to guide the councils and regulate the morals of a people.

We have ſeen that all theſe methods whether of ſeduction or coercion, that offend againſt the eternal rules of right, reaſon and morality, while they ſhock the beſt feelings of inſulted humanity, have proved impotent to accompliſh the oſtenſible object for which they were employed. Indeed if their aim was to provoke oppoſition, throw every thing into confuſion, and wade through all the horrors of civil war, to the poſſeſſion of plunder and confiſcated property; the ruins that ſtill cover all our plains, and ſtrike the eye in every direction; the violent revolution of property, the extinction of almoſt all the ancient families, the degradation and compulſory ignorance and barbarity of the ſurvivors, ſufficiently atteſt the holy zeal of thoſe godly men; the protection they afforded to perſons and property; beſides the uninterrupted ſyſtem of legal chicanery, or open violence, employed to diſpoſſeſs rightful heirs of their inheritance, fiſcal depredations, &c.

All the great political and religious convulſions that have agitated a country, frequently the theatre of revolutions, have extended all their concomitant evils, unallayed by any mixture of the good ſometimes flowing from theſe moral tempeſts acroſs the Iriſh channel, where they vented their rage with redoubled fury, extending their ravages from ſea to ſea, until they conſumed the land.

Under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the Iriſh made one unſucceſsful attempt to recover their rights by force of arms, after pacific means had failed; they ſuffered unheard of vexations, during the reign of James the Firſt, who in one day confiſcated ſix whole counties, plunging the unfortunate proprietors in a moment, from a ſtate of opulence and independence, into want and beggary. A too forgiving people unmindful of this outrage againſt juſtice, humanity and all the duties a ſovereign owes to his ſubjects, roſe in arms in defence of the unfortunate

unate ſon of their oppreſſor. They made a commo n cauſe with monarchy, in the vain hope of obtaining ſome alleviation of the many hardſhips they laboured under, as the recompenſe of their paſt ſervices, and the pledge of future loyalty. That miſerable monarch, found himſelf under the cruel neceſſity of rejecting the proffers of zealous attachment, and of even declaring war againſt thoſe who were ready to ſhed their blood in his defence, leſt the aſſiſtance of ſuch deteſted auxiliaries ſhould render his cauſe unpopular in England, and deprive him of the ſupport of the royal party, hence we ſee how incompatible our happineſs muſt ever be, with our ſubjection to that extravagantly ſelfiſh race; ſince a king of England, if not from inclination, muſt at leaſt from motives of policy, and a prudent compliance with the prejudices of his Engliſh ſubjects, be the declared enemy of Ireland, and be ready upon all occaſions to ſacrifice their welfare, even to the caprice of his countrymen, in caſe he ſhould get the better of early unfavourable impreſſions, carefully made on his tender mind.

He has thoſe of all about him, and the more powerful motives of his own eaſe and intereſt to combat, in order to do juſtice to a portion of his ſubjects, whoſe wrongs he cannot redreſs without riſqueing the affections of monopolizing England. Pitiable ſituation of the father of his people, to be compelled for his own ſecurity, to perpetuate the tyranny and injuſtice of a faction. Blind policy on the part of Engliſhmen, ſince it gives ſo numerous a ſubdiviſion of the people, an immediate intereſt in ſubverting the remaining privileges and freedom of that country, and veſting unlimited power in the crown: from the height of abſolute authority, the king would regard impartially and with equal favour the different diviſions of his empire.—The government of the great king was much more tolerable than the inhuman dominion of Sparta over the Helots; but to return from a ſhort digreſſion, not very foreign to the ſubject, King Charles met the fate known to all. The Iriſh royaliſts were cruſhed beneath the ruins of the throne.

Such deſolation and ruin was brought on this country, by thoſe fatal diſſentions about Engliſh politics, and by the implacable vengeance of the triumphant republicans, as it never before experienced, probably one tenth man did not ſurvive thoſe dreadful calamities. Here our anceſtors fell with the crown, the ſon of Charles was reſtored to the inheritance of his family. Did the ſufferers in the cauſe riſe with him? were they reinſtated in thoſe poſſeſſions they had only forfeited by their attachment to what was conſidered the Britiſh conſtitution, and

ſacred right of kings? ſo far from it, the very fugitives who expended their little all in ſupport of the exiled Charles, were forgotten by him on his return, and conſigned to want and obſcurity.

Not, it ſeems, ſufficiently tutored by former failures, our ſanguine countrymen embark in the good old cauſe, with as much ardour as ever, and rally round the ſtandard of abdicated James; the favourable conditions they ſtipulated for with that miſguided monarch, were loſt by the victory of William; Britiſh ſupremacy was eſtabliſhed through the aſcendancy of a ſect. Thus during that long and turbulent period that preceded the revolution, the hiſtory of the connection, is the hiſtory of Ireland's diſgrace and diſaſters.

Since the revolution though the times have been leſs turbulent, one great portion of the community, held the ſlender wrecks of their fortunes, which had eſcaped from plunder, confiſcation and the avidity of Engliſh adventurers and informers; by a very inſecure tenure, excluded in a manner, from the protection of the laws, they were kept under perpetual alarm by the terror of infamous bills of diſcovery, or of being diſpoſſeſſed by any relative, who ſhould chuſe to avail themſelves of an act, that impowered a popiſh convert to rob his kinſman, his brother, or father of his all! Infamous act that legalized robbery and ingratitude, broke the ties of nature and trampled on all laws human and divine; under pretence of ſerving religion, ſtriking the vitals of all religion and morality. When you add to all this, what is termed the glorious uncertainty of the laws, whoſe obſcure and contrapictory deciſions, brings every ſpecies of poſſeſſion, within the euripus of litigation; we are not ſurprized to ſee the fineſt domains, the pleaſanteſt ſites, occupied by lawyers and attornies; but we cannot help admitting that the ſyſtem, goes to the circulation rather than the ſecurity of property, while the ſyſtem of war and taxes on the other hand by a ſilent but powerful operation, by doubling and trebling the prices of luxuries as well as neceſſaries, ſinks the yearly income of the conſumer proportionably in value, however he may fancy his revenues improved by the fallacious augmentation of the rent-roll: ſo much for the ſtability and ſecurity of property, under the preſent ſyſtem, perhaps it anſwers better for other purpoſes.

The effects of a beneficial ſyſtem of government, upon a people and the country they inhabit, are always conſpicuous: A numerous, and proſperous people enriched by ſucceſsful application to all the important branches of human induſtry, agriculture, manufactures, commerce, illuminated by the

the diffuſion of uſeful knowledge, civilized in manners, refined in taſte, exalted by pure religion and morals, they will tranſcribe on the face of the land, a fair copy of the national mind, enriched by various and extenſive culture, plantations, demeſnes, neat villages, commodious towns, cauſeways, &c. ſplendid cities, improved by ornamental arts, and the ſkilful arrangement of deſigns, into delightful landſcapes, where utility of beauty vie with each other to gratify the feelings and captivate the fancy: they will be great and ſimple in their public inſtitutions, in their ſyſtem of education, in their code of laws, in their religious inſtructions, in the practice of the ſocial virtues.

The ſublime and conſolatory picture of ſuch a people and ſuch a country, bears honourable teſtimony to the capacities of human nature, and proclaims the wiſdom and public ſpirit that preſided in the public councils. Let no man tell me of incorrigible defects in human nature, or on that pretence, decry plans of improvement as viſionary, this is the cry of fraudulent impoſture, intereſted to keep it degraded and ignorant, or the complaint of knaviſh empirics, who for want of ſkill to accompliſh any noble purpoſe, quarrel with their materials, by reviling our common nature, and the maſter-piece of omnipotent wiſdom; refuted by the hiſtory of the world, which exhibits in every age the human race, infinitely diverſified by laws and manners, with wonderful verſatility conforming themſelves to untried ſituations, and with the pliability of wax, faſhioning themſeves to every variety of political and moral climate.

In the hands of the ſkilful legiſlature, human nature, like clay in the hands of the potter, readily receives every impreſſion, and is moulded into any ſhape, from the ſtern manhood of the military Spartan, to the peaceful virtues of the mild Gentoo; from the gay the refined Athenian, to the phlegmatic, the ſuperſtitious the plodding Egyptian.

In modern times, Holland, France, and England, have made great approaches to legiſlation, in ſpite of ſome capital defects in their political ſtructures, the gevernments were at leaſt in ſome inſtances patriotic, or ſtudied the good of their reſpective countries: When I caſt my eyes over this benighted land, almoſt every thing appears the reverſe; the Eaſt part of the capital, indeed, diſplays ſome grandeur in palaces, public buildings, and works, which inſtead of diſguiſing rather make more glaring, the huge poverty, the gigantic miſery, that fills this great city, in every garb, in every ſhape of human woes and gradation of wretchedneſs, from thoſe that excite gentle compaſſion, to thoſe that petrify with horror; every ſtreet and lane, every place of public

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reſort, are crowded with the ſqualid victims of oppreſſion, while in the ſilent receſſes of baſhful woe, famine, nakedneſs, and their concomitant diſtreſſes, conſume their thouſands and their tens of thouſands.

Such pomp and peagantry along ſide abject poverty, ſuch magnificence in buildings and equipages, coupled with the filth of mud cabbins, and the rags that diſfigure our poor, among whom may rank almoſt the whole of the induſtrious claſſes, reminds one of the poetic fiction, *mulier formoſa ſuperne, deſinit in piſcem*: Like the vanity of a poor coquet who would pledge her ſhoes and ſtockings to adorn her head. Such expenſive decorations, when not the legitimate offspring of public and private wealth, growing from ſolid improvements, and extenſive commerce, is at once a wanton miſapplication of a capital which would be better employed in forwarding the tillage of barren, or but haif-cultivated lands, or in nurſing our infant manufactures, than in flattering the pride of individuals, or gratifying the all-graſping avarice of public leeches, by jobs: it is an inſult to our poverty, to withdraw ſo large a portion of our ſcanty circulation from the more uſeful channels, in order to rival in the pomp of buildings, the opulence of London or Amſterdam.

Well, let us paſs from this gorgeous maſk of Ireland's diſtreſs, and take a view of the provinces, perhaps there we may diſcern the traces of a wiſe and liberal policy, in the neatneſs of rural habitations, ſnug farms, handſome villages, *uno verbo*, in the delicious perſpective of a ſubſtantial and independent yeomanry; in the harmony ſubſiſting between all ranks and degrees of ſociety, between landlords and tenants, rich and poor, Catholic and Proteſtant. Alas! it is no ſuch thing, but the very reverſe in almoſt every inſtance, wherever we turn our indignant eyes, we are every where ſtared in the face, by the poverty, the nakedneſs, the miſerable, filthy ſtyes of an oppreſſed, woe-worn peaſantry, harraſſed by exorbitant rack-rents, by taxes, tythes, middlemen and proctors, unable by the ſcanty wages of their hardeſt toil to purchaſe the luxury of buttermilk, or a herring, to make the meagre diet of potatoes go down, or to provide bedding or clothes for their helpleſs family; happy when a bundle of ſtraw protects them from the damp earth, and an old winnow ſheet from the chilling night air, with no better fuel than ſtolen buoran, or, by good look brambles.

Poor wretches, they have no other alternative, than that of eating their potatoes raw, or being ſuffocating by the ſharp ſmoke of buoran, which has no other vent than a ruinous roof of rotten wangles and ſods, whoſe breaches ſerve at once

for

for window and chimney. Does any one ſuſpect this account exaggerated? Let him ſurvey the whole extent of the land, from one extremity to another, he will convince himſelf of the reality and extent of the evil, and conſider this deſcription, as coming much ſhort of the truth in the main; but we, conſtantly ſurrounded as we are, by thoſe objects, are become in a great meaſure inſuſceptible of the feelings they ſhould otherwiſe excite; our eyes like our hearts, become callous from the daily habits of beholding, until we become familiarized with thoſe melancholy and diſguſting ſcenes: this inſenſibility is none of the leaſt moral evils flowing from our ſituation.

A. Young, Campbell, &c. who from the novelty, were better qualified to feel and expreſs their ſentiments, on the lamentable ſituation of Ireland in this reſpect: they are laviſh in their encomiums on the natural beauties and fertility of our ſoil, blaſted by the dreadful contraſt of the woe, depicted on the faces, the garb, the wretched habitations of the ſtarving cultivators. Is it on the blake brow of ſome inhoſpitable heath or barren mountain, that the human form divine is defaced by famine, ſquallid by rags and nakedneſs? No ſuch thing, it is in the midſt of a land of plenty, a land literally flowing with milk and honey; it is on the prolific lap of all bounteous nature where ſhe delights to pour her choiceſt gifts, with more than ordinary profuſion, that the deareſt offspring, the moſt precious portion of humanity, ſmarts under the rod of oppreſſors, faint under the iron yoke, and languiſh for want of neceſſaries.

Princes and lords may flouriſh or may fade,
A breath can make them, as breath has made;
But a bold peaſantry, a country's pride,
When once deſtroyed can never be ſupplied.

Yes in ſpite of upſtart inſolence and monied pride, they are a nation's beſt defence and ornament, its moſt invaluable treaſure; their uſeful toil gladdens your hills and plains with the gifts of Ceres; grandees, it is to their labours you owe your magnificent palaces, your ſuperb villas and carriages, your pomp and luxury, the thouſands you ſquander in the purſuit of ambition or pleaſure, while the crops reared by their daily ſweat and toil, are to them forbidden fruit, ſnatched away from their lips by the operation of a cruel ſyſtem rendered ſtill more efficacious by the forced meaſure of export bounties; the treaſures of our harveſt go to nouriſh aliens, while our countrymen experience the deſtiny of Tantalus, curſed by the ſight of bleſſings they can never taſte. Yet in the teeth of all thoſe ſtubborn facts, in the face of an indignant public, in the preſence of yon conſcious ſun and ſtars. Oh! Good Heavens!

vens! Their odious taſk-maſters have the effrontery to tell them and us, that they are the happieſt poor in Europe. Inſolent men, if happineſs were commenſurate with poverty they would, no doubt, for of that they have the greateſt ſhare; but whoever has travelled Europe with the ſlighteſt attention to other objects than pictures, galleries, courts, &c. can give them the lie direct, and eſtabliſh the reverſe of their aſſertion, viz. that Europe cannot produce a parallel to the poverty and miſery of our peaſantry: What, it will be ſaid, is it poſſible that the ſlaves of a Pruſſian or Auſtrian deſpot, can be as happy as the ſubjects of our free and generous conſtitution: You may decorate your political fixture with as many fine epithets as you pleaſe, it is nevertheleſs true, that no where are the labouring claſſes ſo wretched, not to mention the fertile plains of Hungary, Bohemia or Poland, the free ſtates of Switzerland; let us confine ourſelves to the moſt unpromiſing tracts, cold mountains, ſubject at once, to the evils of ſterility and deſpotiſm, and enter the the dwelling of the German or Slavonion boors, in Pruſſian Sileſia, the Carpathian mountains, or the Rieſgebride, on the frontiers of Bohemia and Saxony, where nipping cold ſeems enthroned, on the elevated maſſes of almoſt perpetual ſnow and ice.

You will find their houſes generally well built, with maſſy beams of timber, well covered in with ſhingles, floored with boards, heated by a large ſtove, well ſupplied with fuel. The boor can regale his family and gueſt with bread, meat and ale, and ſhew him to an excellent feather bed at night: ſuch alone are in uſe among them: theſe good things are regarded among them, as the bare neceſſaries of life, if any deficiency happen, they receive in advance from the landlord an adequate ſupply; it is true, they may not migrate from the ſpot of their nativity, but irrevocably annexed to the glebe, they are included in the ſale and purchaſe of an eſtate as part of the appurtenances, and indeed the moſt valuable part, the price always bearing a ſtrict proportion to the number, qualities and circumſtances of the reſident villagers: hence the proprietor of the ſoil has an immediate intereſt in their welfare, and independently of motives of juſtice or humanity, will take care to leave the neceſſaries and even ſome of the comforts of life, within the reach of their induſtry; all that is requiſite to preſerve the health of the individual and multiply the race, by holding out competent inducements to form matrimonial connexions, and conquer the reluctance inſpired by a ſenſe of their abſolute dependance on the will of another, and the natural repugnance to propagate

ſlaves,

ſlaves, in a word he will protect them, for the ſame reaſons that he will have his horſe well fed, &c.

In Ireland the poor tenantry might envy the happier lot of their landlord's horſes or dogs, who are generally well houſed and fed, nor does the liberty of removing from one eſtate to another, avail them much, in any point of view, while it certainly injures them in one reſpect, as their fate is not neceſſarily linked with the intereſt of any landholder. Every tranſient lord thinks it his only concern, to extract as much as poſſible from their labour and pains: the moment ſickneſs and diſappointments incapacitate them from bearing the heavy burden, they are unmercifully kicked out, to ſolicit the cold hand of charity.

If they even preſerve ſufficient health to qualify them for the ſervice of a new owner, their condition is ſeldom bettered by the change, as a general underſtanding, ſomething very like a combination, and tantamount in its effects, puts them every where upon a level of wretchedneſs. It may be ſaid that America offers a ſure aſſylum to all labourers, who are diſſatisfied with their preſent ſituation. Alas! almoſt inſuperable difficulties, debar the far greater number from availing themſelves of this refuge; their poverty, the deplorable ignorance and barbarity into which they have been forcibly plunged, by barbarous laws, worthy of the inquiſition, or the Divan.

The *amor patriæ*, which in them is a powerful paſſion: their unacquaintance with foreign tongues, and lately an act of parliament, all tend to circumſcribe their exiſtence within the fatal ſpot of their ſufferings. Many ſeek to improve their circumſtances, by crowding the ſuburbs of cities, but theſe abodes of poverty and vice are uſually overcrouded, they are hot-beds of low villainy, and furnaces that conſume population. Will it be aſked, to what purpoſe all this lamentation, concerning the hard fate of theſe uſeful men? What good purpoſes can be anſwered by ſuch a detail of woe, eſpecially in times like theſe? Who has deputed this man the advocate of the poor?

I am not diſmayed by theſe interrogatories, my conſcience acquits me of all diſhoneſt views, as well as improper interference in concerns foreign to me, *homo ſum humani nihil a me alienum puto*: He is no man, who can look on the diſtreſſes of his fellow creatures, as a foreign concern. It was not for this that man was created for ſociety, and made dependant on the concurrence of his fellow-men, by his wants, by his deſires, and by his very enjoyments. It was not to indulge a ſolitary ſelfiſhneſs, that nature implanted the generous ſymptom in our

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boſoms, and gave perſuaſive eloquence to the tears, nay to the ſilence of the unfortunate, and imparted to the feeling heart and tear of pity, that delicious ſenſation, to which the cold and unrelenting heart is doomed to be a ſtranger; which pours the balm of conſolation into the wounds of the afflicted, and ſheds a ray of hope on the gloomy brow of deſpair. Oh! ye vile egotiſts! ſordid ſlaves of intereſt and ſelfiſh paſſions! will ye never learn to aſpire after the great, the godlike luxury of doing good? Have you never felt the ſacred inſpirations of humanity, dilate your narrow breaſts, and impell you to relieve the diſconſolate? Are you diſinherited from that moſt glorious attribute of our nature? Mercy, that proud diſtinguiſhing attribute, which exalts man above every thing that is mortal, and aſſimilates him to the Divinity himſelf, in that he holds moſt dear, for his mercy is over all his works.

Man is then the image of his maker, when he learns to be compaſſionate, and ſhew mercy, for the boſom of the charitable is the choſen ſanctuary of the Godhead, the preſent divinity dwells in him, and gives a foretaſte of eternal bliſs, *nam deus charitas eſt &c.* Yes, every man can ſhew the charter of nature, the commiſſion of his maker, for attempting to plead the cauſe of ſuffering humanity, at once the high privilege and moſt ſacred duty of our preſent ſtate, if we will partake of the promiſe made to the merciful: for to them and them only are the promiſes, before this ſun of righteouſneſs, all minor virtues fade, without it, other works are but ſpecious ſins, it cancels all our debts, throws the veil of the ſanctuary over all our frailties. "Were thy ſins as red as ſcarlet, they ſhall be waſhed "&c."

Can it be deemed preſumption in me, if obeying the imperious call of nature, and the imperative voice of God. I call on my countrymen to take into their moſt ſerious conſideration, the mighty miſery, that diſgraces a land renowned of ancient days for generous hoſpitality and genuine philanthrophy. What will a people endued by nature with a ſtrong portion of ſenſibility, with a warm and tender heart, alive to all the beſt feelings of humanity, behold without an effort coloſſal miſery, ſtalking over the land, in every hideous form, *terribiles viſu formæ lethumq. laboſq. & fames & pallor*; the incalculable woe that wrings every heart, and agonizes every ſuſceptible mind.

God forbid that party, religious difference, or any other dæmon of diſcord, ſhould ſear up our ears againſt the groans of deſpair, and leave ſo many crying oppreſſions unexpiated, and ſuch a foul

foul ſtain on our age and country. *Patres noſtri peccaverunt & non ſunt & nos iniquitates ipſorum portavimus*: be not deceived by paſt impunity, divine juſtice however ſlow in appearance, never fails to overtake when leaſt expected. If there be any crime, which infallibly calls down the anger of avenging Heaven, even in this life, it is oppreſſion of the poor: they too, deſpiſed as they are in your eyes, the reputed outſcowerings and outcaſts of the race, have a protector: hear the tremendous denuuciation of the Eternal by the Prophet, "For the miſe-"ry of the needy and the groans of the poor, I will ariſe, "ſaith the Lord."

Will you give nothing to generoſity, to pity? have mercy on yourſelves at leaſt, and on your children; tremble before the awful judge, who commands reparation, not as an act of convenience or charity, but of juſtice of ſtrict and rigorous juſtice, the indiſpenſible pledge of his mercy to you. In a world governed by the immutable laws of unerring wiſdom, where all the laws of Nature, all the elements of the phyſical and the moral world, act in uniſon, through apparent diſcord, for the preſervation of univerſal order; the inſtincts of the brute creation, and the movements of matter, obey with undeviating punctuality the impulſe of the prime mover.

If a wider range of action is allowed moral agents, as the privilege of their high rank, the means of their probation, and the prerequiſite for the developement of their undefined capacities, to be exalted and improved into finiſhed moral excellency, and thereby qualified for the attainment and enjoyment of interminable beatitude. Muſt it be thence inferred, that they may with impunity violate their duties, the moral conſtitution of their natures, and perturb the eſtabliſhed order of the univerſe. Alas! frail inſects of an hour, repreſs the criminal preſumption, inveſted with a brief authority, dare you hope, becauſe you may elude the juſtice of man, that you can eſcape the all-ſearching glance of omniſcience, wave his juriſdiction or baffle his juſtice.

Can you command the ſeaſons or the elements? Can you at will controul the circulating fluids, that ſupport your ſpark of life, the texture or frame of your bodies? Does health and ſickneſs obey your voice? Or can you quench the avenging furies that ſeize on the guilty mind? True policy we ſay is ſtrict honeſty, if this be ſo, with regard to an individual, much more ſo with regard to a nation; as the one is of leſs importance in the general ſyſtem, and his conduct attended with fewer conſequences, the frail tenant of a day, he may eſcape, at leaſt, in this life, the juſt retribution of his actions; but a nation by its

its conduct, produces a more univerſal and permanent effect, exerts a more deciſive influence on the general condition of the whole ſpecies, and by the extent of its duration, muſt reap the fruit of wiſdom or folly, and be awarded by God and man according to its deſerts.

Far be from us the impoſture of ſtate maxims, the folly and wretchedneſs of court policy, the treacherous doctrine of perverſe ſtateſmen, who declare that public concerns are not to be managed by the rigorous morality that ſhould preſide in the affairs of private life; that juſtice commands one thing, and ſound policy another; that gonernments and nations are to purſue their own aggrandizement, regardleſs of the means; that the worſt means are ſanctfied by the end, *i. e.* an acceſſion of power and wealth, extention of commerce or territory. God avert ſuch monſtrous, peſtiferious maxims from our councils, let our enemies be viſited by this pleague; or rather, may it be exterminated from the face of the earth.

Good Heaven! is it poſſible that Chriſtians, who worſhip a God of juſtice and of tender mercies: a God whoſe infinite holineſs is offended by the leaſt ſhade of moral turpitude, and whoſe promiſes are as conſoling as his denunciations are fearful and inevitable, can ſit down calmly to calculate the profits of a crime in the ledger book of adulterated policy, balance ſo much preſent lucre, againſt ſo much tranſgreſſion? Momentary dependants on a bounteous Providence, how can they flatter themſelves with a continuance of his favours and bleſſings, by a violation of his laws. Is it by trampling on all the dictates of reaſon, the rights of humanity, all laws human and divine, that they flatter themſelves to ſecure the protection of the Father of all?

When I hear them talk of the flouriſhing ſtate of the Eaſt India Company, the colonies, the commercial treaties and monopoly, dictated by a naval ſuperiority, I ſhudder to think that they only boaſt of ſucceſsful crimes, proſperous villanny, the abominable traffic of human fleſh, the multiplied horrors of artificial famine, robbery, oppreſſion and murders, by our miſrule in India, extending its deſolating blaſt, by circles of latitude and longitude, more deſtructive than the pleague, and yet they ſay we are ſtill proſperous; beware the moment of retaliation has been retarded, to await your penitence; the hair ſuſpended ſword hangs over your devoted heads, do not provoke its fall and your own ruin, by your obſtinacy.

Oh! ye rulers of Babel put on ſack-cloth and aſhes, deprecate the wrath ready to burſt and overwhelm you, by tears of

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ſincere ſorrow, by groans of contrition, not by the ſolemn mockery of *general faſts*, and hypocritical prayer, call upon Heaven to become the accomplices of your iniquity. Indeed one might fairly conclude from the daring inſult to God, coupled with the habitual diſregard of his ſacred ſtatutes, that you only profeſs him with your lips, but are in reality Atheiſts. " The fool ſaid in his heart there is no God."

We pretend to hold the balance of Europe in our hands, to circumſcribe the ambition of foreign powers, to redreſs the wrongs of nations, yet we can ſet no bounds to our encroachments abroad, or our oppreſſions at home, and forget the grievances at our door: has the page of hiſtory diſplayed its uſeful leſſons in vain ? or have ye not leiſure to ſcrutinize the records of time for hidden wiſdom. This great truth is declared by the viciſſitudes of nations, is inſcribed on the ruins of empires in awful indelible characters by the ſupreme diſpoſer of events, that nothing can be permanently deſirable or uſeful to a nation, but what is ſtrictly juſt and honourable. By unjuſt projects of domination, Egypt, Aſſyria, Greece, Rome and Carthage fell; the inceſſant encroachments of a lawleſs ambition, rouſed the jealouſy and hatred of neighbouring nations, and deſtroyed the moral principles, and public ſpirit at home, which are the beſt cement and ſafeguard of ſociety, by the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few.

Unſucceſsful war, it is confeſſed on all hands, leads to certain ruin; when ſucceſsful, its effects though ſlow are not the leſs diſaſtrous in the end, the infallible operations of conqueſt are to accumulate great wealth in the hands of the few, and bring the many to poverty and ſervitude; to promote enormous luxury and degrading penury, with the concomitant vices of both extremes, heightened in their efficacy, by the baneful influence of a government, which diſdains the reſtraint of moral principles and laws, *regis ad exemplum*, &c. Thus the rage of conqueſt produces its own puniſhment, by diminiſhing the ſecurity from without, and enfeebling the national ſtrength, and internal means of defence. " He that ſlayeth by the ſword ſhall periſh by the ſword."

In vain ſhall ſuch a people reckon on numerous legions of ſoldiers for their ſafety; in a ſtate where might makes right, they will finally become the maſters, determine every thing by the ſword, eſtabliſh military deſpotiſm. This is the firſt degree of caſtigation, this ſtate of things muſt lead to frequent civil wars, from the conflicting ambition of ſucceſsful generals, to occupy the firſt place, as the favour of the armies determines

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the prize, that muſt be purchaſed by flattery, largeſſes, relaxation of diſcipline, &c. When the public corruption is at the height, then the moment of final deſtruction is arrived; whereſoever the carcaſe is, there the eagles will gather. Either deſtructive ſwarms of barbarians, or bordering nations, rendered warlike by the neceſſity of ſelf-defence, againſt the enterprizes of an inſatiable neighbour; or internal revolutions produced by the deſpair of an injured people, become the inſtruments of divine vengeance, to uſe the expreſſions of a prophet: "The Lord of "Hoſts calls forth the armies of his wrath from the extremities "of the earth, to execute his commands upon an ungrateful "and rebellious people."

How nearly does England touch this frightful precipice? The image of Carthage in the ſpirit of domination, commercial monopoly, colonization, inſatiable avarice, alike obnoxious, by her haughty contempt of others, her infinite vexations and naval tyranny. Who can guarantee her from a ſimilar fate? Nothing but a prompt and total change of conduct, a radical reform in the defective parts of her conſtitution, which enchain the nation to the car of partial intereſt; ſubſtitutes for the general feeling, ſpirit and honour of a nation, the corrupt paſſions of the few, the clamours of private intereſt, by adoption of wiſer, that is, more honeſt councils alone, can the realm be reſcued from impending evils.

But will it be aſked, how can any meaſures be kept with a turbulent, ſeditious populace, who in defiance of the laws have ſpread alarm and confuſion over the country, and gone ſo far as to avow a deſign of changing the government, and abetting the views of a foreign enemy? Will not any relief granted to a people with ſuch a temper and in ſuch a ſtate, be received with contempt as the conceſſion of fear, not the boon of gracious power, and rather tend to harden them in their wicked diſpoſition, than reclaim them to a ſenſe of due obedience to the laws? May I be permitted before replying, to aſk a ſimple queſtion: are there many ſuſtantial farmers, manufacturers or merchants, among this deluded multitude, any who poſſeſs the means of a comfortable ſubſiſtance?

You are all ready, no doubt, to anſwer no—they conſiſt of the very dregs of the people, the moſt indigent of the peaſantry, ignorant as poor, deſperadoes, who, having nothing to loſe, apprehend their ſituation could not be altered for the worſe by any poſſible change of affairs. It is clear then that all who are above abſolute miſery, notwithſtanding any differences of opinion, whether religious or political, concur in ſupporting

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good order and the laws. Is it then for the honour of government, that ſo great a proportion of his Majeſty's ſubjects, than whom, he perhaps, has none more devoutly attached to monarchy, who fill the ranks of his armies and man his navies, ſhould be driven by their deplorable ſituation to diſcontent and inſurrection ; that the great maſs of cultivators ſhould be reduced to ſuch deſperate circumſtances, as to be incapable of a change for the worſe.

Is not this matter worthy of an inveſtigation? a great and general diſcontent can never prevail, without the preſſure of heavy grievances, nor can a government ever loſe the public confidence, and incur the general hatred of the governed without capital faults. Great indeed muſt be the miſrule and vexation, when the moſt peaceable claſſes of the community, the ſimple honeſt tillers of the earth, can reſolve to tear themſelves from the boſoms of their families, which they cheriſh with virtuous affection, and from their daily occupations, on which they depend for the daily bread of their little ones, and take to ſuch deſperate courſes, as calls down on their heads, the vengeance of the offended laws: to face death in a thouſand ſhapes, firſt in the acquiſition of arms, then in the miſuſe of them, and with what proſpect, barely the remote contingency of a change, that would give them more tolerable maſters.

Well what remedy has hitherto been deviſed for this ruſtic malady? Are our ſtate phyſicians able to deviſe no better ſpecific than ſhooting, hanging, or tranſportation? Powder and ball and the bayonet, are but ſorry lenitives to hungry ſtomachs, and experience has proved them very inefficacious antidotes to poverty or diſcontent. Actual turbulence may be repreſſed by the exertion of force, but opinions remain unconquered. The reſentments of a people, who think their governors their moſt cruel enemies, embittered by the inſolent contempt with which their complaints are treated, inflamed by the additional outrage of being expoſed to military execution, inſtead of meeting with redreſs, will rankle deeply in their breaſts, ready to burſt out with tenfold fury upon ſome future occaſion.

Thus we ſee the dragooning ſyſtem makes but ill proviſions for future ſecurity, while it is inadequate even to the preſervation of preſent tranquility, it ſows the ſeeds of rooted and deep animoſities by ſporting with the lives and ſufferings of their fellow citizens. Good God! is it poſſible that the landed gentry of this kingdom, can hit on no better expedient for allaying the ferment, and conciliating the attachment of their tenantry, than that of extermination, abſtracting from the outrage againſt all the principles of religion, juſtice and humanity;

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what can be a greater argument of political empiricism and legiſlative incapacity, than a government to reſort to the butchery of their ſubjects, inſtead of governing them with wiſdom and equity, eſpecially with the example of more wiſe and humane landlords before their eyes, who by a contrary conduct have preſerved the peace of their neighbourhood? Who could imagine, that men who are ſo much alive to gain upon other occaſions, ſo fond of encreaſing their revenues, and ſwelling the rent-roll even to ſcrewing up the rack-rent, beyond the ability of induſtry to pay, without ſevere privations, ſhould now ſo far forget themſelves and ſacrifice their true intereſts to their reſentments, as to call upon government to deſtroy the tillers, who alone give value to their lands, as if the preſent deſtructive war did not abundantly thin population; if they do not alter their conduct, they may find too late, that their domains will be deſerted by thoſe who eſcape the battle and the gallows; when they will find themſelves obliged to deſcend from their preſent lordly pride to the humble ſtation of their forefathers, and occupy the places of thoſe whom they now deſpiſe, by holding the plough or tending the flock.

Whoever is convinced that neither gold nor paper conſtitutes wealth, but men and their labour as applied to the ſoil, and manufacturing its various produce, would adviſe other meaſures, he would cheriſh the labours of the induſtrious claſſes, and allow them a liberal recompence for their uſeful toil, not only from motives of humanity, but ſound policy: the intereſts of all the ſubiviſions of ſociety, being ſo intimately interwoven, their concerns ſo blended, whatever materially affects the one, muſt proportionably affect the other, there is a cloſe ſympathy, and ſtrong re-action, between all the parts that compoſe the ſocial edifice, whenever the baſes or columns that ſupport it are ſhaken, the whole impaired in beauty and ſtrength, menaces a fall.

The ſtate of the peaſantry muſt influence our manufactures, and theſe again influence the value of ſoil and its produce: when the maſs of the people are in eaſy circumſtances, they will purchaſe the conveniencies of life, their houſes, utenſils, furniture, apparel will be in a more comfortable ſtyle, and employ a number of trades, and manufactures, who in their turn will afford a convenient market for the milk, butter, corn, even ſtraw, chaff, &c. in a word, for every produce of the farm; they mutually ſupport each other and conſtitute the bulk of national wealth. The bulk of mankind being the great conſumers, muſt always be the principal ſupport of all great manufactures,

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where theſe are poor, the home market at leaſt muſt fail; now experience can tell, what influence a manufacturing neighbourhood has upon the value of lands. Thus we ſee that the honour, the intereſts of proprietors of the country at large, of the rulers of the land, concur with the voice of humanity and juſtice, in demanding the ſpeedy adoption of lenient meaſures, of relief and reparation.

Far be it from me to excuſe the exceſſes, to which thoſe miſguided people are hurried by their paſſions; but while thoſe are repreſſed by the public force, let the wiſdom and equity of the public authority apply remedies proper to remove the cauſes, and prevent the recurrence of ſimilar diſturbances. The legiſlature might eſtabliſh the prices of proviſions, as a ſtandard for regulating the wages of the labourer, and let the latter fluctuate with the aſſize of the former.

The efforts of the legiſlature alone, however ſincere, will hardly apply a radical cure, without the concurrence of the landed intereſt and the clergy; it may be hoped however, that the latter will not be wanting to co-operate on their parts, ſomething towards ſo laudable an object as I may call the ſalvation of *poor Ireland*, with the example of government before them: influenced as they always muſt be by ſuperior authority, and by a due zeal for meaſures which happily combine public and private intereſt, and muſt reflect ſo much honour on themſelves and country. Another important point of view in which the caſe ſhould be conſidered, is its inſeparable connexion with the great intereſts of morality and religion. A people degraded by beggary and dependence, equivalent to ſlavery, never will be a moral people, nor religious in the proper meaning of the word.

There is a point of depreſſion as well as elevation in the ſcale of human condition, unfriendly to virtue, which generally loves to dwell in a mean temperative. It is not in the haunts of extreme indigence or in the palaces of kings, that the models of moral perfection are to be looked for, if perchance ſome ſolitary inſtances of the contrary occur, they can only be regarded as extraordinary efforts of nature, ſometimes ſurpriſing us by the ſingularity of her phenomena, they are exotic plants, and cannot long or often thrive under ſuch inclement ſkies, nor on ſuch ingrateful ſoils. It is the middle walks of life, equally removed from the extremes of opulence and want, of luxury and penury, of the haughty elevation, which lifts the proud peer above the level of public opinion, upon which he looks down with diſdain; upon whoſe conduct of courſe, it loſes its ſalutary re-

ſtraint, and the abject ſituation, that ſinks the poor perſon in his own eyes, as well as in thoſe of the public, and inclines him to act regardleſs of the public opinion, ſince he loſt all hope of poſſeſſing any portion of the public eſteem.

The peer and beggar will act and ſpeak before the people, in a manner few others would venture upon: both extremes meet in this caſe, the one fancies himſelf raiſed above cenſure by his dignity, the other feels ſunk below it for want of it, the juſt medium between both, conſiſts in a proper ſenſe of the dignity of our common nature. Some degree of ſelf eſteem founded on a good conſcience, and a ſenſe of independence and ſecurity, with a juſt deference to the opinion of neighbours, an honeſt ambition for a fair character; but this can only be found along with independence, with the habitual ſenſe of decency, propriety, honour and ſelf-eſteem which accompany, and the advantages of education which facilitate it. The wretch who is forced by his wants to continual acts of ſelf-abaſement, to crouch, fawn, diſſemble and become the ſervile and deſpiſed tool of thoſe, who will not fail to make him feel at every turn, how mean and contemptible a being he is. Convinced that his outward garb, his ſituation invites contempt, he loſes all reſpect for himſelf, and all deſire as well as hope of the reſpect of others, and becomes capable of any meanneſs or low knavery; the moral ſpring of mind is broken, which with elaſtic energy repels every ſollcitation of the paſſion or ſuggeſtion of intereſt, that is connected with indecency, ſhame or injuſtice, which might hazard reputation or peace of mind; moreover habitual cleanlineſs in dreſs, furniture, an attention to neatneſs and order, with decency and propriety in language and manners, commonly called minor virtues, are powerful auxiliaries to the ſocial duties.

Extreme poverty is deſtructive of all theſe elegant habits of mind, and of the delicacy of moral taſte, uſually their offspring: the ſame perſon accuſtomed to the naſtineſs of a ſtye, covered with rags and filth, is capable of a thouſand meanneſſes, which better clad and lodged he would diſdain. When you add to all theſe enumerated cauſes of depravity, the facility of procuring an intoxicating poiſon, which inflames the veins without nouriſhing them, and generates a feveriſh delirium, a temporary inſanity; ſad reſpite from diſtreſs and bitter reflection! debilitating alike mind and body; can we be any longer ſurpriſed at the general ravages of drunkenneſs and vice among the lower orders? Can any friend to Ireland, any who regards the intereſts of religion or morality, behold this wretched degraded ſtate

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of our country without lamenting, or lamenting, not contribute his mite, nay, his beſt efforts towards healing the deep wounds of the nation?

You eſpecially, who are beſt enabled by property and education, to attempt the noble taſk of reforming the morals and mending the condition of the poor, are peculiarly called upon; your deareſt intereſts are deeply concerned in it, your preſent and future welfare, your honour, your future proſpects, are at iſſue; put your hands to the work, and you will ſecure the favour of God, the applauſe of men, and the thanks of poſterity.

Here is a glorious and godlike revolution, that may be effected without ſhedding a drop of blood, without injuring any claſs or individual of ſociety; a clear and unequivocal bleſſing, which inſtead of endangering peace or property, will create univerſal peace, ſecurity and confidence. There is an ample field for the beſt exertions of the patriot, the philoſopher and divine. Time preſſes, the ſalutary work ſhould not be delayed, leſt the diſeaſe ſeize the whole body and become incurable. In the moral body as well as in the natural, the ſound parts (aided by a ſalutary criſis,) may regenerate the diſeaſed parts; if this be not effected, the diſeaſed parts muſt ultimately vitiate the ſound, and produce diſſolution.

In the moral as well as phyſical world there is a reciprocal influence of all the parts, an action and re-action, if dependants and domeſtics are ſoon tinctured with the predominating features in the character and temper of their ſuperior, and take what is called their tone from the family which they ſerve, thoſe in their turn and eſpecially the youthful part, are ſtamped with the character of the vicinity in which they reſide, and acquire early habits and diſpoſitions of mind, analogous to their ſituation and the perſons with whom they are converſant. Among thoſe they receive their earlieſt impreſſions with the nurſes milk, their infant minds are corrupted by adulation and obſequious ſervility, continually reminded of their own importance, by the fawning vaſſals that ſurround them, who ſtudy to gratify their vicious inclinations and tyrannical caprices.

They grow up with a ſovereign contempt for a wretched order of beings, whom they regard as an inferior ſpecies, born merely to be their ſlaves: hence the follies and indiſcretions of the juvenile period, unchecked by the reſtraint of public opinion, and fomented by the ſervile tools and accomplices of the paſſions, are matured into the crimes of manhood. All the boiſterous vices of the country ſquire are formed in this ſchool; the little

deſpot of the village, the diſſipated ſpendthrift, tyrannical landlord, bad huſband, bad father, bad neighbour ; the drunken, ſwearing debauched rake diſplays his youthful acquirments. The intercourſe of ſlave and lord, is inimical to morals. Such was the opinion of the Greeks and Romans, who forbade any communication between their children and ſlaves ; impotent prohibition, ſince the coarſe indelicacy of language and manners the ſanguinary and ferocious character of their diverſions, feſtivals, &c. atteſt the baneful effects of ſlavery on the morals of tyrants. —we may obſerve in ſailors and ſoldiers, &c. the influence of ſurrounding objects on manners : The radical cure of all, requires the union of laws and morals, of example and inſtruction, as the diſeaſe proceeds from the two extremes, we muſt work at both ends ; we muſt begin the buſineſs of reforming the people, by gaining their confidence, by convincing them, that their good is the object neareſt our hearts, that we do not undertake the taſk of government for ſelfiſh purpoſes, but to promote their happineſs, not with a view to aggrandize our families at the expence of the public ; but to advance the proſperity of the country, at the expence of our own repoſe and health. As an earneſt of our ſincerity, let us begin by removing their phyſical wants, then ſhall we meet with docility on their parts. Landlords and beneficed clergymen, by ſacrificing a little to the neceſſities of the poor, to the calls of humanity and religion, would do much for their country.

A proper ſyſtem of education, analogous to the wants and ſpheres of the various claſſes of the people, and conducted by well informed men, would greatly promote the ſame end. The pulpit too, might prove a very uſeful ſource of public inſtruction under proper regulations, at preſent it is too often turned into the drum-eccleſiaſtic, reſounding with the harſh and barbarous ſound of controverſy, with bitter invectives and harſh epithets againſt oppoſite opinions, indirectly againſt the profeſſors of them, with a view to kindle the rancour of religious party, and inflame the fanaticiſm of the multitude : hence proceed the bitter fruits of falſe zeal, ſtrife, diſcord, murder. (We but lately witneſſed the fatal effects of this rancorous doctrine in the North).

The clergy by ſuch conduct make themſelves worſe than uſeleſs : away with this ghoſtly warfare and cant, more worthy the prieſt of ſatan, than of the miniſters of Chriſt, teach the people ſobriety, induſtry, obedience to the laws ; teach them what your maſter commanded, to love one another. Ne-

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ver let the trumpet of diſcord thunder in the temples of the God of peace, where men ſhould come together to deplore paſt errors, to bury animoſities, and cultivate mutual forgiveneſs and charity, in the preſence of the common parent, who promiſes love and forgiveneſs to thoſe who love to forgive.

When the great and wealthy are thus laudably employed in relieving and reforming the lower orders, it will become them to ſet matters to rights at home, and render their lives a model of imitation to others, they preſide over faſhion, and that rules the world. Man the moſt imitative of all beings, is prone above all to copy the example of his ſuperiors, it might be reaſonably expected of them to reſpect the ſacred ties of matrimony, to avoid giving ſcandal by their inſolence, prodigality, gluttony, &c.

To the fair ones let it juſt be hinted with all due ſubmiſſion, that a little of that extraordinary attention they beſtow on the ornaments of their perſon and dreſs, might be as profitably employed on the culture of their minds, or the care of their families. It is melancholy to behold that amiable part of the creation, ſacrifice intrinſic worth and valuable accompliſhments to the faſhionable coquetry, that would be ever faſcinating the eyes without ever fixing eſteem, by the ſlippery arts of a courtezan: what can infatuate a venerable matron, to deſcend from the dignity of her ſtation, the circle of the domeſtic virtues and true reſpectability, in queſt of that happineſs which can only be found at home, to revel in mazes of faſhionable folly, through the endleſs round of viſits, balls, maſquerades, drums, routs; dancing like a giddy girl, after the deluſive meteor of falſe pleaſure, to the utter excluſion of all ſerious thought and ſober reflection.

Such a being devoted to frivolous purſuits and endleſs diſſipation, feveriſh, fretful and vapouriſh, the uſual fruits of ſuch a mode of living, as reverſes the order of nature, changing night into day and day into night, muſt become totally forgetful of all the important duties of mother, wife or friend; poſſibly ſhe may not indulge a natural appetite amidſt all the high ſeaſoned provocation that an inſidious gallantry and refined luxury can deviſe to ſtimulate native frailty. She may not forfeit her honour in the article of chaſtity; but her virtue is totally uſeleſs to the world, while ſhe countenances by her example, thoſe ſcenes of nocturnal diſſipation and luxurious revels of the baccanalian retinue of the goddeſs of pleaſure.

Oh! my fair countrywomen, nature has been profuſely liberal to you, of all the external accompliſhments of which ſimplicity

plicity and modeſty are the beſt ornaments. Why not then reject all thoſe foreign fopperies of dreſs, which incumber, inſtead of diſplaying your perſonal charms, and aim at the lovelineſs of virtue, cultivate thoſe exalted feelings of generoſity, humanity and charity; the ſublime ſentiment of religion, which embraces in its capacious boſom the intereſts of all our kind, your ſenſibility of mind is the native ſoil of all thoſe mild virtues, if they are not ſuffocated in the tumult of the paſſions; let the irradiating beam of holineſs light up the countenance of beauty, ſhe will command the homage of angels.

Beauty, frail flower is then only truly adorable, when it becomes the animated expreſſion of a virtuous mind of which it is the emblem, embeliſhed by cultivated mental endowments, it ſubdues all hearts by irreſiſtible charms, awes libertiniſm and vice, and reforms the irregularities of the paſſions by the paſſion it inſpires. Virtue gives to the fair an aſcendency which paſſes not away with the bloom of youth, nor is effaced by the wrinkles of age. May thoſe objects of public veneration and gratitude, the Counteſs of Moira and Lady Arabella Denny, ſerve as patterns to the ſex.

Having expatiated on the abuſes that ſhould be corrected in the different claſſes of ſociety, it remains to treat of government and the hierarchy, though laſt in order of time not of leaſt conſequence. Here as I approach this dangerous ground, guarded by the dragons of the law and the flaming ſword of high treaſon, from the intruſion of the ſwiniſh multitude, I feel the neceſſity of treading with caution, leſt I rouſe the vigilant jealouſy of thoſe who have an intereſt in the perpetuation of abuſe. I would previouſly deprecate all unjuſt ſuſpicions or haſty imputations of revolutionary or jacobinical principles, fully perſuaded that the convulſions of a people in a ſtate of inſurrection and civil war, with the internal and external ſhocks it would inevitably bring on, muſt prove ruinous to our country, without leading ultimately to a well regulated ſyſtem of freedom; that the maſs of our people, uneducated as they are, cannot aſpire to legiſlate for themſelves nor any repreſentative body emanating chiefly from the great majority of the indigent and uninformed, and therefore reſting the ſupport of their authority on their concurrence, and of courſe compelled to ſurrender their own better judgment to be hurried away by the prejudices and momentary paſſions of the multitude, can be adequate to the great taſk of forming a free and at the ſame time efficient government, ſatisfied on the other hand, that our preſent conſtitution, though it has defects which call loudly for correction,

rection, has alſo many excellencies capable of further improvement, it ſhould therefore be the object of a well-wiſher to the happineſs of his country, to purſue the good that is attainable, by making the moſt of the materials we poſſeſs, and repair the injuries that time or a hoſtile hand have inflicted on the political edifice, than hazard every thing in the raſh purſuit of new theories, however ſpecious.

Were it in agitation to legiſlate for a new country or a colony, then indeed there would be room for a totally new moral creation, a ſelection might be made not only from exiſting forms, but likewiſe from promiſing theories, minds unoccupied by any pre-exiſting ſyſtem and unprejudiced in favour of accuſtomed rites, uſages, &c. would be proper ſubjects of political experiment, and might eaſily be moulded into any form agreebly to the wiſhes of the lawgiver, nor expoſed to the conflicts of inveterate habits and powerful intereſts, but the caſe of a civilized or ancient nation is the very reverſe, here are powerful intereſts in favour of the exiſting ſyſtem; be it what it may, the minds of men are formed to their peculiar rites and uſages, and ſwayed by political and religious ſyſtems. The legiſlator has more refractory materials to work upon in proportion as the component parts of the ſocial edifice, have taken their ſhape and bent from their ſituation, and the mutual preſſure and gravitation, any ſudden or violent alteration is attended with dangerous concuſſions, often with fatal exploſions.

But while we guard againſt one extreme let us be equally cautious of the other, while the raſh ſpirit of innovation is exploded, which would overturn every thing, to realize a favourite, perhaps viſionary project, let that fooliſh and criminal attachment to every thing eſtabliſhed, not becauſe excellent, but becauſe old, that preſumptuous obſtinacy that would oppoſe every improvement under plea of innovation, be diſcarded: between both theſe extremes, the middle courſe is the only wiſe and ſafe one. No one however devoted to the reigning ſyſtem, can have the hardihood to deny, that the people labour under ſome grievances, that ſome abuſes have crept through every branch of the adminiſtration and every practical part of the conſtitution, which to ſpeak the truth never was thoroughly eſtabliſhed for Ireland, nor comprehenſively, ſo as to embrace the whole people, nor in its purity, among the portion who enjoyed its partial favours; the narrow ſyſtem of colonial government, which might have been good policy, as long as the operation of Engliſh law was confined to the limits of the Engliſh pale, ceaſes to be ſo now that all Ireland feels the excellence, and calls

fervently

fervently for the eſtabliſhment of the Britiſh conſtitution entire in the undiminiſhed vigour and perfection of all its parts.

This is not the cry of unprincipled faction, ready to tear the bowels of their country and overturn all the laws and bulwarks of our common ſecurity, to gratify private ambition; it is the embodied voice of a whole people, taught by the errors and misfortunes of their forefathers, the danger of leaning too much to any branch of the conſtitution, and the folly of the miſtaken loyalty, that would ſacrifice the liberties and rights of the people, to the arbitrary will of a monarch, and the fatal error of deſtroying the conſtitutional powers of the crown, at the inſtigation of popular leaders: ſenſible of the bleſſings of a regulated freedom, by contraſting what their neighbours poſſeſſed, with their own privations, concerned to hear themſelves traduced as groveling creatures, born with a predilection for ſlavery, or branded as diſaffected rebellious ſubjects, impatient of ſubordination to the laws, ſtigmatized by turns with moſt contradictory imputations of paſſive obedience and levelling principles, tutored by experience, trained by their ſufferings, animated by the tranſient glow of public ſpirit that pervaded the ranks of the memorable Iriſh volunteers; finally anxious to be reſtored to the boſom of their country, and raiſe their country with themſelves, to ſhare the benefits of a conſtitution, to whoſe integrity and permanence they become additional guarantees; conducted by men of character, probity and property, they have obtained much: that they may obtain all the conſtitution can give, equal rights and equal laws, is the wiſh of all the ſincere friends to a government by kings, lords and commons, at leaſt of thoſe whoſe zeal is according to knowledge.

The times demand it, the public diſtreſs, the preſſure of an unfortunate war, the dangers that menace the empire within and without, enforce the verdict of public opinion, the votes of parliament, the judgment of able and impartial ſtateſmen, that a reform of the legiſlature, *i. e.* in the repreſentation of the people is urgent and indiſpenſable: delays are dangerous, now if ever, it is madneſs to tamper with the irritated feelings of millions, conſcious of their rights, ſoured by the miſery and famine wantonly brought upon them by an unprincipled war in ſupport of deſpotiſm and robbery; fired with a juſt indignation, to ſee their wants created by miniſterial wickedneſs, and inſulted by a moſt prodigal waſte of the treaſures and proviſions wrung from their labours, in the fruitleſs campains and naval expeditions to the coaſt of France, which produce no other effect,

fect, than ſhedding oceans of human blood, and ſpreading far and wide the ravages and waſte of a deſolating war. Harbingers of famine, do the people claim the reſtitution of their rights, the redreſs of thoſe acknowledged and grievous abuſes? they are menaced with military execution, the gallows, or Botany Bay.

All meetings to diſcuſs public meaſures, or deviſe remedies for public calamities (except ſuch as are convened by the miniſter's hacks, to gloſs over his crimes and ſing his panegyric) are declared ſeditions and treaſonable, and the national voice is attempted to be ſtifled by crown proſecutions and baſtiles. Pitt has ſaid the war muſt go on until every Engliſhman is ſlain, and the laſt guinea ſpent in the conflict. He ſeems determined to keep his word; does famine ſtare them in the face? Are they compelled to clamour for bread? the ſwine are coolly told of mixtures and ſuch ſtuff, they are inſultingly ſent to feed on huſks, bran, roots, &c. proper food for ſwine; if they ſtarve, it does not ſignify, the French are ſtarving as well as them.

Sire, be no longer the dupe of thoſe vile and wicked men, who would rob your people of all their comforts, of thoſe rights and privileges for which their forefathers bled, to defend which your illuſtrious family was called to the throne: under the maſk of extraordinary zeal for your perſon and crown, miſtruſt the forward profeſſions of thoſe men, who make their treachery to the conſtitution and an apoſtacy from principle the pledge of their attachment to royalty. Withdraw your confidence from thoſe perfidious counſellors, who abuſe your name and authority to aggrandize themſelves and minions, and exerciſe a deſpotic power over freeborn ſubjects, by and through the proſecution of an unjuſt and diſaſtrous war, undertaken in ſupport of domeſtic corruption, and againſt the rights of Engliſhmen, ruinous alike to their commerce, their induſtry and their ſubſiſtence.

Sir, hiſtory is the proper ſchool of kings, miſled by the flattery of the living they may ſtill learn truths from the writings of the dead, in the records of paſt ages, they will find many inſtances of good or weak kings, flattered and deceived by inſidious ſervants, having paid the forfeit of their crimes. Beware of thoſe who would hazard the affections of a loyal people, by driving them to diſpair and utter ruin, through the abuſe of the regal authority; ſuffer not thoſe treacherous *friends* to ſhut your ears againſt the complaints, the ſufferings, the groans of a once great, flouriſhing and high ſpirited nation. Why muſt every harſh meaſure of oppreſſion, every unconſtitutional vexation,

tion, every attrocious act of injuſtice, be enforced by the ſignature of G. R. ſurreptitiouſly, no doubt, obtained.

It is an awful moment when the public mind, big with grief and juſt indignation, inflamed by great, continued, inſulting wrongs, obſtinately perſiſted in, unfeelingly and wantonly reiterated, is denied a vent, when well-founded diſcontents and complaints, are haughtily diſregarded, ſtifled by coercive meaſures, eluded by artful juggle, or aggravated by calumnious abuſe or legal perſecution. In a word, when all communication is cut off between the people and the throne, by an inſulating ſubſtance; the petitions of an indignant people, ſcornfully repelled and coerced, will rankle in their breaſts and kindle into univerſal concentrated reſentment, ready to burſt with the moſt tremendous exploſion; then is the moment of thoſe formidable earthquakes in the moral world which like the expanſible force of the igneoas fluid re-acting from compreſſion, hurls the antient mountains of the world from their ſolid baſes, and demoliſhes with irreſiſtible force every thing that oppoſes their fury; baniſh from your preſence and councils thoſe traitors, who deceived you into the cruſade of deſpots in ſupport of arbitrary power, as if you had a common cauſe with deſpotiſm, and proceeded on a ſyſtematic plan to overturn by ſtratagem, or by force, or corruption thoſe liberties it is your greateſt honour and ſecurity to defend.

Mark, ſire, mark thoſe deſigning villains, whoſe artful hypocricy has gained, unfortunately too great an aſcendancy over thy royal mind, do not they reſemble the youthful counſellors of Rehoboam? obſerve their language, they ſpeak indeed loftily of the throne and monarchy, and obſerve their conduct, they render the regal name aud function odious by their illegel and oppreſſive acts: who are they? men who thrive on public diſtreſs, who fatten on the poverty of the people, men who aggrandize themſelves by the abuſes of a conſtitution they affect to reverence: men who ſet the influence and prerogatives of the crown to ſale, who make a traffic of the honours of the peerage, the privileges of corporate bodies, the ſacred function of the goſpel miniſtry, the venerable order of the magiſtracy; in a word, ſet up every thing ſacred and profane to auction, glut themſelves with places and penſions, accumulated in the ration of their demerits, with the perquiſites of war commiſſions and ſpeculations in the funds, whoſe balance they in a great meaſure hold in their hands.

Are theſe the men to be liſtened to? Are they the real friends of the conſtitution, to whom its mutilated and defective

ſtate

ſtate is a never failing ſource of revenue, who erect princely fortunes on the calamities of which they are the authors. Can thoſe be the true friends of king or people, who have an intereſt diſtinct and oppoſite to that of both? In fact, how can the king ever ſeparate his intereſt from that of his people? Is not their wealth his wealth, their power his? Is it not his greateſt glory and happineſs to behold his people flouriſhing, contented, moral and happy? How can his honour or real advantage be promoted by poiſoning public morals at the fountain head, by ſpreading corruption, avowed, barefaced corruption and venality among thoſe ranks, which from their elevation muſt always give the impulſe to the reſt of ſociety, which like a gangrane ſucceſſively infects the whole body politic, through the ſubordinate ramifications of the ſtate; venal corporations of towns and trades, degraded by periodical bribery and gluttony.

When money is made the medium of attaining honours and employments, the ſole means of poſſeſſing conſideration, all other means will be neglected for that, all attention to acquire the neceſſary qualifications, all pretentions to public ſpirit, and deſire of meriting the confidence of fellow citizens will be laid aſide, the corruption of morals is then arrived at its laſt ſtage, the executive power will ſoon find itſelf unable to procure any reſpect or obedience to the laws, beyond what it can buy with money, or compel by the dread it inſpires (for laws though ever ſo wiſe, without morals, are impotent), it will be no longer able to ſupport itſelf, but by ſhameful and diſhonourable means, and by the rankeſt tyranny. May God, in his goodneſs, avert the cruel cataſtrophe, which would place the father of his people under the terrible neceſſity of reſorting to the maxims of tyranny, for the ſupport of an authority, become alike pernicious to himſelf and ſubjects.

" Tyranny may maintain itſelf (ſays Ariſtotle, De Republica, lib. 5, cap. 11. p. 497, 8) when the prince takes the precaution to cut off thoſe citizens who are too much raiſed above the reſt (or buy them); when he is careful to prevent the progreſs of knowledge which may enlighten, and to forbid all public entertainment or *meetings* which may unite his ſubjects, when after the example of the kings of Syracuſe, he beſieges them with ſpies, who hold them in diſquietude and dread, when by adroit artifices he ſows diſputes in families, diviſions among the different orders of the ſtate, and diſtruſt even in the moſt intimate connections; when the people cruſhed by public labours, laden with taxes, dragged to wars purpoſely excited, and ſo depreſſed as to be incapable of all elevation of ideas or

dignity

dignity of ſentiment, have neither the courage nor the means to throw off the yoke by which they are oppreſſed. When the throne is only ſurrounded by vile flatterers and ſubaltern tyrants, by ſo much the more uſeful to the deſpot as they are not reſtrained either by ſhame or by remorſe. Another method ſtill more effectual is, when the ſovereign preſerving all the plenitude of his power, is willing to ſubmit himſelf to forms, which ſoften apparently its rigour, and which ſerves to ſhield deſpotiſm with the maſk of law, and cover oppreſſion by the ſanction of popular names and forms, that enable him to exhibit himſelf to his people, rather as a father who claims them as his inheritance, than as a ferocious animal of whom they muſt become the victims. See Ariſtotle, ibid. and travels of Anacharſis, vol. 3. p. 308. Dublin Edition.

Woe be to the land, people and king who have fallen into this frightful abyſs, the accumulated wealth of ages diſappear, like a nightly viſion, which leaves no trace behind; univerſal deſpondency, diſtruſt and diſmay appalls every heart; the chearful ſong of rural innocence, the ſmile of gay content are fled; the joyful note of thriving induſtry, the pleaſing buſtle of the buſy and crowded markets and ports, are ſought for in vain moping melancholy, hopeleſs deſpair, ruminating on incurable ills. The ſhadow of death, ſits brooding over a deſolated land, widdowed villages, which no longer reſound with the uſeful labours of the loom or plough, induſtry fugitive, and population decayed; cities once brilliant and flouriſhing, crowned with the overflowing wealth of a flouriſhing empire falling into ruins, mourning the abſence of the ſplendid or buſy throng, in purſuit of their pleaſures or affairs.

The ruthleſs tyrant himſelf in the moſt private receſſes of his palace, in the midſt of the ſatellites of his lawleſs power and miniſters of his cruelties, feeling in his turn all the anguiſh and terror he inſpires, afraid of every thing, diſtruſting every one, even to the confidential agents of his crimes, conſcious of the hatred of mankind, of the general intereſt all his ſlaves have to exterminate a monſter, of whoſe violent and brutal rage they fall daily victims, agitated by the terrible certainty, that his life is every moment in the power of his guilty accomplices, wretches as abandoned and wicked as himſelf, and prepared on the leaſt ſuſpicion of danger or diſgrace, to ſacrific a deteſted friend to their own ſecurity: haunted by continual alarms, by the terrors of a panic-ſtruck imagination and the pangs of a guilty mind, inſtead of the balmy refreſhment of that ſweet repoſe granted to ſooth the peaceful labours of the virtuous.

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On a bed of down under the gilded roof of the ſtate-room, guarded by an hundred bolts, and as many cohorts of armed mercenaries; in vain he courts the conſolation which comes to relieve the guilty ſlave enchaned on his oar, or the forlorn priſoner in his ſolitary dungeon, aſſailed with horrors more frightful than poetry has fabled, tormented by the infernal furies, haunted by his crimes, convulſed by his fears; he groans, he ſtarts, agonized, transfixed by the arrows of death, he raves and roars out for his guards. "Oh, they are upon me! There they are." The next gloomy morning that light upon his criminal, his hated, his wretched exiſtence, beholds torrents of blood ſhed to appeaſe his anguiſh; he only ſeals his doom and redoubles his puniſhments with his crimes.

Nero in the immenſe encloſure of his golden palace, and Tiberius in the inacceſſible receſſes of Caprea, with the invincible legions of the Roman empire at their back, experienced daily in their ferocious yet cowardly ſouls, a thouſand times over, all the agonies and torments of that death they feared, loaded with the anger and the juſt imprecations of an oppreſſed world. Oh! what monarch, however miſled by flattery or paſſion would plunge into this deſperate courſe, had he the fear of God or thoſe frightful examples before his eyes. Peruſe the confeſſion of Tiberious, that abominable monſter, that unfortunate maſter of the world, writes to a trembling and obſequious ſenate, "may I periſh worſe than I daily feel myſelf periſh, a hundred deaths." *Suſpenſus enſis cui ſuper impiæ.* I truſt thoſe ills will never overtake us under the reign of a good monarch; but we ſhould juſtly feel alarmed at thoſe boding beginnings of pernicious councils, thoſe open, daring, rapid advances that are made, of which there is no ſeeing the end. We cannot forget that Nero, Tiberious and many of the tyrants of Sicily, &c. began their reigns well.

Some time ago we had better hopes, a propitious ſtar was ſeen to ariſe and cheer the political horizon with his preſent influence, the ſable clouds of diſtruſt, alarm and diviſion diſappeared for a moment before its ſalutary rays; alas! too ſoon has the deceitful dawn which promiſed a laſting ſerenity, been overcaſt by portentious and fiery meteors, big with convulſions, diſaſter and ruin. The moment a nobleman of the firſt rank and character, with a large ſtake in the country, was uſhered in by the direct recommendation of the ſovereign, influenced, as we muſt ſuppoſe, by his paternal regard for his kingdom of Ireland. The firſt meaſures of his adminiſtration; the men whom he aſſociated as the partners of his power, all concurred to raiſe

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the hopes and animate the loyalty of Iriſhmen: the firſt eſſay of the national gratitude was an extraordinary ſubſidy, voted without a diſſentient voice, ſatisfaction and joy beamed on every countenance, and promiſed laſting tranquility and harmony in the effuſions of pure loyalty.

The royal name was hailed with benedictions, and prayers aſcended in every corner of the kingdom, to invoke the bleſſings of heaven on our beloved monarch. Alas! how ſuddenly and unexpectedly did thoſe fair proſpects vaniſh like the viſions of a dream. The enemies of King and people were determined not to reſign ſo eaſily their projects of miſchief, enraged at being deprived of that power which they abuſed to plunder, to oppreſs and calumniate the people, and to render the regal authority odious; repining at their inability to hurt us, chagrined to ſee their defamations refuted by the loyalty and peaceable demeanour that prevailed every where; inflamed with a malignant zeal to blaſt our hopes, they wormed themſelves into power by ſome ſiniſter means or other, the conſequences have been what they were foreſeen and what we have to deplore; we are accuſed of being diſaffected, to what? to the king: no, the regal authority properly adminiſtered, placed in proper hands would be the object of our veneration to the conſtitution; no, we labour to extend its benefits to every portion of his Majeſty's ſubjects, to the preſent ſet in power and their meaſures!

Oh, Iriſhmen! are you then called upon to kiſs the rod of oppreſſion, to reward with your confidence and ſupport the perfidious plotters of your diſgrace and tuin. Deſpicable tyrants, whoſe power is like the evil principle, ordained to deſtruction, whoſe policy conſiſts in ſowing diviſions among the different orders and communites of the realm, in diſſeminating diſtruſt and ſuſpicion, in exciting the religious animoſities of an ignorant multitude, in continual endeavours to render the people ſuſpected to the king and the king odious to his ſubjects, that they may divide the ſpoils, yet theſe men harangue on the ſpirit of diſcontent and diſaffection, which they ſay has poiſoned the public mind; if it does really exiſt, they alone are the authors of it. Before they unfortunately came into the poſſeſſion of the government, the contrary diſpoſitions were loudly and unanimouſly manifeſted.

The people are always diſpoſed to acquieſce under any government, that does not treat them as enemies, if they are but permitted barely to live; they are not the works of Tho. Paine, or any other ſpeculations that can make the whole nation diſcontented, or induce even any great portion of them to reſort to inſurrecti-

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on as a means of bettering their condition, and expoſe themſelves to military execution and the penalties of the laws, for the uncertain chance of realizing doubtful theories. Theſe effects are produced only by public calamities and univerſal diſtreſs, brought on them by miſgovernment: before a whole people can be driven to revolt, they muſt firſt be driven to diſpair, and that not by partial or limited acts of folly or injuſtice, but by an extenſive continued ſyſtem of oppreſſion.

The tranſitory violence of a mob may be raiſed, I own, by ſlight cauſes, but thoſe, when they are not the offspring of deep general diſcontent, are eaſily ſuppreſſed; but when patience is exhauſted by the multiplicity and weight of public wrong, and no means of obtaining legal redreſs remain, when the liberty of complaint is taken away, and the humble petition is treated as treaſon, then indeed it is no wonder, if the natural independence of the human mind puſhed to its laſt retreat makes a violent effort to recover its loſt equilibrium, and diſplays in its re-action, the reſiſtleſs elaſticity of compreſſed air, or of gunpowder.—There is a point in oppreſſion beyond which it becomes inſupportable; when patience becomes a crime, thanks to the great author of our nature, he has given us a means of preſervation, in that reſentment, with which he has armed our breaſts againſt oppreſſors, which calls in a voice of thunder for the puniſhment of guilty miniſters.

Sire, anticipate the moment of public vengeance, ſeize the golden opportunity that now offers, of allaying all diſcontents, and animating afreſh the habitual loyalty of your people, by the reſtoration of peace, by the removal of an odious junto, (objects of univerſal abhorrence and contempt) by a full reform in the repreſentative branch of the legiſlature, and then your ſubjects will fervently pray, that your reign may be long and proſperous.

APPENDIX,

NO. I.

LITERATURE OF THE ANTIENT IRISH.

A CLOUD of unexceptionable witneſſes, might be produced to ſhem that the antient Iriſh excelled in the ſpecies of literature which was faſhionable in thoir day. Finan, Congal and Brendan had laid the foundation of the celebrated ſeminaries of Clonard, in Meath, near the river Boyne, of Banchor, or Bangor, in EaſtUlſter, and of Clonfert, in Connaught, about the middle of the ſixth century. (See Sir James Ware's Ant. and Moſhem, hiſt. eccl. ſ. 6, part 2. c. 2.) Others were ſoon after founded, as that of Roſs, in Munſter, ſituated in the iſland of Begei, oppoſite the mouth of the River Slane, and Lochlin in South Leinſter, not far from the River Barrow. (See the works of Ware, p. 242.)

Bede mentions the monaſtery of Rathmelſig, in which the Engliſh uſed to ſtudy. (See his Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, b. 3, ch. 27). That they enjoyed a great reputation, is manifeſt from the vaſt numbers that reſorted to them from foreign countries for inſtruction. The ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures, made a principal part of education in them. Agilbert remained no ſhort time in Ireland to ſtudy the ſacred ſcriptures. (Bede hiſt. eccl. l. 3, c. 7: And further, Aedelvin, travelled to Ireland to proſecute his ſtudies, ch. 27.) In this century flouriſhed the venerable Columba, or Colum Killa, the Apoſtle of North Britain, and the founder of the celebrated monaſtery and ſeminary of the Iſle of Hy: that he was an eloquent man, and of a great and elevated mind the hiſtory of his life bears teſtimony; but

it appears alſo, that he was prone to indulge ſacerdotal pride and anger, and to abuſe the influence he acquired over the ſimple minds of a credulous people. (Bede, eccl. hiſt. b. 3, ch. 4, b. 5th, ch. 9th, and the life of Saint Columba, by Cummen: in the acts of the order of St. Benedict, t. 1. p. 361, written by Adamnanus, alſo an Iriſh ſaint, and Hen. Caniij, lect. ant. tom. 5. See alſo Buchanan, Rerum Scotiearum, lib. 1, p. 15; Cambden's Brittania, vol. 2, p. 1462; a compleat geography by Bowen, p. 295; J. Macpherſon, diſſ. 21, p. 370.)

Much about the ſame time a number of Iriſh monks, forſaking their native country, travelled over France and Germany, and eſtabliſhed ſchools and monaſteries in various places; whether they were invited by foreign princes for this purpoſe, or were prompted by their own zeal for religion and literature, certain it is, they were received at foreign courts with every mark of favour and diſtinction, and met with every ſort of encouragement. Among the foremoſt were Columbanus, a pupil of the ſchool of Bangor, he was favourably entertained by Gunthram, King of Burgundy, who prevailed on him to ſettle in his dominions: He eſtabliſhed the ſeminary of Luxeuil, in Latin Luxovium, in Lorraine, in the dioceſe of Beſancon, in the year 590. This ſchool ſoon became celebrated for virtue and learning, and ſerved as a univerſity for the education of the young nobility and gentry of the kingdom, (vita Sancti Columbani, auct. Jona. inactis ord. S. Benedicti, t. 2, p. 35: Hiſtoire Literaire de la France, t. 3, p. 595; Hamb. Nachr, t. 3, p. 475.)

He was afterwards exiled by Theodore, the ſucceſſor of Gunthram, though he had enjoyed his confidence a long time, on account of the inflexible ſeverity with which he treated the weakneſſes of that monarch. Prevailed upon by the intreaties of Agilulph, king of the Lombards, he viſited Italy, and erected the monaſtery of Bobio, in the territory of Pavia, in which he ended his days. His writings are commended even by the learned as ſomething above the ſtandard of the age he lived in (*il eſt peu d'ecrivains de ſon temps ou l'on trauveplus de beautes*) Hiſt. let de la France, p. 517. The chief praiſe of his poems, ſeems to be piety which they breath.

Gallus, the faithful companion of Columbanus, in his travels and labours fell ſick on the journey to Lombardy, by which accident he was detained among the Germans and Swiſs, where he had an opportunity of preaching the goſpel among a people, ſtill addicted to many heatheniſh ſuperſtitions: He founded a monaſtery in a delightful ſpot on the borders of the lake of Conſtance, which ſoon became a diſtinguiſhed ſeminary, and ſtill preſerves its founders name. Gallus attracted the eſteem

of Sigebert, king of Auſtratia, and other German princes, hence when the ſee of Conſtance became vacant, all ſuffrages united in his favour; but he declined the dignity, and for once, the nolo epiſcopari was pronounced without hypocriſy. One of his pupils, a native of the country, was through his recommendation, elected biſhop, on which occaſion, Gallus pronounced an oration on ſacred hiſtory, the fruits of genuine religion, and the paſtoral duties, which drew tears from a ſplendid and numerous audience. This diſcourſe has been publiſhed by Caniſius Lectionum Antiq. t. 10. ed. Baſnage, p. 781. Une piece vraiment digne de paſſer a la poſterite, hiſt. lit. de la France, t. 3, p. 562. This venerable Chriſtian philoſopher, terminated his uſeful career in the year 646: that he laboured effectually to promote literature, the many learned men who had their education in Monaſterio Sancti Galli, furniſh a ſatisfactory proof. The works of the ſaint were publiſhed at Franckfort in the years 1623—8, with comments by Gaſpar Barthius: during the following century many of the Iriſh, encouraged by the brilliant reputation and ſucceſs of Columbanus and Gallus, or animated by the ſame ſpirit, travelled into France and Germany, towards the middle of the ſeventh century, the Burgundum univerſity of Luxieu was under the preſidency of the Abbot Jona, an Iriſhman, to whom we owe the life of Columbanus. Arbogaſtus of the ſame nation, was elected biſhop of Straſburg in the year 646 (Cluverius, a. 630, Tanneri Biblioth Britt. ware de ſcript. hib.) Livinus ſtrenuouſly labouring in the cauſe of religion and literature, was ſlain in Brabant, and honoured there ſince that epoch as the apoſtle of the country; he was a poet of ſome note, vita ſi livinini in actis, ſi ord. b. t. 2, p. 449, hiſt. lit. de la France, t. 3, p. 584, Uſher, ep. hib. p. 49.

Emmeranus ſuffered for the ſame cauſe in Bavaria, he founded the celebrated monaſtery of Ratiſbon (life of Emmeranus written by Cyrinus, in Caniij Lectionibus Antiquis, t. 1.) About the ſame time, Gertrude, abbeſs of Nivelle, in Brabant, and daughter of Pepin, mayor of the palace, ſent for Iriſh profeſſors to eſtabliſh a ſeminary in that town. See the Benedictines, b. p. 462. It may once for all be obſerved here, that all thoſe monaſteries founded by the Iriſh, were colleges, the profeſſors were monks, who lived in celibacy and divided their time between the functions of religion and public inſtruction, while the zeal for promoting religion and learning carried the natives of Ireland to France, Italy and Germany, they did not neglect the Angloſaxons.

Aidan founded a monaſtery and opened a ſchool in the iſland of Lindisfarn; he was ſucceeded in the double function of preacher and profeſſor by his countrymen, Finnan and Colman:

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they endeared themſelves to the Engliſh nation, by the ſanctity of their manners, their unwearied aſſiduity in relieving the diſtreſſed, and promoting Chriſtian piety and morals at the ſame time. Turſus aided Sigebert king of the Eaſt Saxons with his council and aſſiſtance, to introduce civilization and learning among his ſubjects, and having founded the College of Cnoberſburg, which he entruſted to the care of his brother, he departed for France, (See Bede 1, Eccl. hiſt. b. 3, ch. 19, 24, and 26; the lives of St. Finan and Colman; in Actis, S. A. Feb. t. 3, p. 82, ſ. ob. 661 and 676, and Life of Turſœus, inactis ſ. ord. bened. t. 2, p. 299, hiſt. let. de la tr. t. 3, p. 613.)

On all theſe accounts the people of England were perſuaded that they could not better provide for the education of their children, than by delivering them in charge to men ſo reſpectable for morals and letters, nor were they diſappointed in their hopes: Beſides the crowds who reſorted to the Iriſh profeſſors who opened ſeminaries in England, great numbers flocked into Ireland, where they were treated with the utmoſt humanity: hence on their return home they were loud in the praiſes of their hoſpitable and learned friends. Let us hear the deciſive teſtimony of an Engliſhman, the venerable Bede, who in the third book of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. chap. 27th, ſpeaks as follows: At that time there was a great number of the Engliſh youth, of the nobility as well as the middle claſſes reſident in Ireland, on account of ſtudy or for the ſake of proficiency in Chriſtian learning (about the year 664): all of whom the Iriſh chearfully entertained, allowing them daily maintenance, and books without fee or reward (books bore an exceſſive price before the art of printing) and likewiſe gratuitous inſtruction: *victum quotidianum ſine pretio libros quoq. ad legendum et magiſterium gratuitum præbere curabant*: Read this teſtimony of your countryman degenerate Engliſh and learn to bluſh! And you are not ſatisfied with having plundered and exterminated the deſcendents of thoſe your tutors, foſterers and benefactors, but your ſcorn and hatred purſues their very memory; you have waged an inhuman war againſt their language, their national cuſtoms, religion, property, &c. and have with an impious cruelty unexampled in the annals even of tyranny, enacted ſtatutes of compulſory ignorance, decrees of forcible *barbarization*, by deſtroying their ſchools and colleges, and making it felony to teach or print the mother language, the only vehicle of knowlege then poſſeſſed, purpoſely to reduce this nation to a ſtate of ignorance and barbarity as O'Neil juſtly ſets forth in his famous manifeſto, iſſued to juſtify the inſurrection in the reign of Queen Elizabeth: This attrocious ſyſtem

of tyranny worthy of the prince of darkneſs, was but too ſucceſsful. the bloody, treacherous daughter of the ferocious tyrant Henry, attempted what no Dæmon in human form ever plotted before, to extinguiſh the image of the divinity, and reduce Iriſhmen to the level of brutes.

The ruin of the Iriſh, no doubt, was principally owing to their inteſtine diviſions, and defective ſyſtem of government, but it was planned and accompliſhed by the tyrant deſcendants of Willam the baſtard and his Norman brood, who firſt trampled on the rights and liberties of Engliſhmen, before they planned the calamities of Ireland, the old Engliſh were our warmeſt friends upon all occaſions, they acknowledged their obligations to this country, and made every return that gratitude and friendſhip could dictate: The ſiſter iſlands knew no other connection than the intercourſe of friendſhip, the interchange of benefits, and reciprocity of good offices and benevolence, will ſuch a deſirable temper never return again? But to return, from that time forward, there was a great reſort of ſtudents to Ireland, from England and France, among whom were youth of the firſt quality (Bede, b. 3, c. 7.) In the mean time, the Iriſh continued to deſerve well of Britiſh literature.

Maildulphus opened a ſchool at a place called after his name, Maildulphburg, and ſince Malmeſbury, which attained to conſiderable reputation (on account of the many eminent men it produced. The praiſes of Cuthbert who fillled the double junction of biſhop of Lindisfarn, and profeſſor of the college of Mailros, are celebrated in proſe and verſe, by Bede (1 cl. a. 676. Ware de ſc. hib. h. p. 30; William of Malmeſbury, de rebus geſtis r. Angliæ, l. 1, p. 13.) He calls Maildulph a philoſopher in learning and a monk by profeſſion (Bede de vita St. Cuthbert) Theſe conſiderations did not deter Egfrid king of Northumberland, from invading Ireland and laying great part of it waſte, for which Bede inveighs againſt him bitterly, accuſing him of the blackeſt ingratitude in injuring an unoffending people, who were at all times moſt friendly towards the Engliſh nation. He was ſoon overtaken by condign puniſhment, for having attacked the Picts, he periſhed with the greater part of his army. He was ſucceeded by his brother Alfred, afterwards ſurnamed the great, who was at that time in Ireland, where he had ſpent ſome years in the ſtudy of philoſophy and divinity (Bede and William of Malmſbury, lib. 1. p. 21.) He was deſcended of the royal line of O'Neil, by the mother, and was one of the greateſt and beſt princes that ever ſwayed an Engliſh ſcepter; his eminent qualities reflect no ſmall credit on the country where he was educated.

About

About this time Killian labouring to reclaim the eaſtern Franks from their antient ſuperſtition, obtained the crown of martyrdom, and is honoured to this day as Apoſtle of Franconia; and Rupertus, deſcended from the blood royal of France and Iriſh kings, is honoured with the ſame dignity in Bavaria, he was the founder of the ſee of Saltzburg, and its firſt biſhop (Maſc Geſchichte der deutch, 2 Theil. p. 263, vita Si Kiliani, in Caniſij Lectionibus, Eccard de rebus Franciœ orientalis.)

Willebrodus an Angloſaxon, who ſpent 12 years in the colleges of Ireland, arrived in Friezland, with 12 companions, and through the recommendation of Pepin of France, he laboured for the ſalvation of ſouls, with greater ſucceſs as well as ſecurity; he was advanced to the ſee of Utrecht, (Life of Willebrodus, written by Alcuinus in Actis, Ord. S. b. t. 3, p. 1, p. 601.) Alcuin ſpeaks thus of Willebrodus's ſtudies in Ireland: *Quem genui fœcunda Britania mater doctaque nutrivit ſtudijs ſed Hibernia ſacris.* The præceptor of Charlemagne further adds in his elogium on Willeges, the father of Willebrodus: *Patria ſcotorum clara magiſtra fuit.*

We have a curious and intereſting account of the ſtate of learning in Ireland, during the ſeventh century, the ſtudies that prevailed in its colleges, and the conflux of ſtudents from all parts, among the works of Aldhelm, abbot of Malmſbury, deſcended from the kings of the Weſt Saxons. He had himſelf been trained up in Iriſh ſcience by Maildulph, and was afterwards a hearer of Theodore and Adrian, who were ſent into England by the Pope, and kept a ſchool at Canterbury. He was therefore a competent judge of both methods; he was in high eſtimation among the Saxons for his ſingular learning; in a letter to Edfried on his return to his native country from his ſtudies in Ireland (extant in Uſher's Collection of Iriſh Letters.) He ſpeaks of the great reſort of youth to that celebrated mart of literature, in the following not very elegant Latin ſtyle: *Tam creber meatus eſt iſthinc illinque iſtue illueque, navigero equoreas fretantium calles gurgite, velut quœdam contribula opium germanitas, nectar fabre conficientium* (Aldhelmi, epiſ. 1. p. 38.) After the juvenile ſtudies were finiſhed they applied to gometry and phyſics; after which they were exerciſed in logical diſputations and ſubtle diſquiſitions on the moſt knotty and difficult queſtions in philoſophy and theology, by conſtant meditation and argumentation, the faculties of their mind were ſharpened and ſtrengthened; hence thoſe who were trained up in the tactics of the ſubtle logic taught in Ireland, were held powerful diſputants invincible in argument. Aldhelm deſcribes this courſe of ſtudies in the following terms: *Lurconum conglobatio*

lectorum

lectorum, ac reſidua ſagax deſcipulorum caterva florigevis hagiogeaphiæ ex arvis. non ſolum artes grammaticas atque geometricas bis ternaſque omiſſas phiſicæ artis machinas, quinimo allegoricæ potiora ac tropolicæ diſputationis, bipertita bis oracula, æthralibus opacorum mellita in ænigmatibus problematum, ſiticuloſe ſumentes carpunt & in alvearijs ſophiæ, jugi meditatione loco tenus ſervanda condentes ahdunt (id. ep. p. 39).

From all thoſe authorities 'tis evident that common opinion, which attributes the introduction of ſcholaſtic philoſophy to the Arabians is erroneous, ſince it is proved that thoſe ſtudies prevailed in Europe long before the followers of the Koran got the better of their averſion to letters, and at the very time their Caliph condemned the library of Alexandria to be burnt, and piouſly diſtributed the profane, though immortal works of genius, to heat the public baths. The learned and judicious eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian Moſhem, appears to have formed a more right judgment of the origin of that ſubtle method which ſo long domineered in the ſchools : He concluded from a letter of Benedictus Anianenſis, a writer of the Eighth century, that the Iriſh firſt employed the language and method of metaphyſics and logic, to defend and explain the tenets of Chriſtianity, and that they were the parents of ſcholaſtic philoſophy, which they diſſeminated throughout Europe.

Benedictus, mentions a ſyllogiſm which he calls deluſive, or fallacious, with which thoſe Iriſh doctors puzzled the advocates for a trinity of perſons in one God : Perſon is either a modification, or a ſubſtance, if the latter there are three ſubſtances and therefore three Gods ; if the former there is but one individual in God; and perſon according to its etymology and original ſignification, is only a manner of being or acting. Perſon meant the maſk which actors wore on the ſtage, and metaphoricaly the part or character they acted. A triple perſonality, would accordingly mean the three principal characters in which God has manifeſted himſelf towards his creatures, as the creator, the preſerver, and illuminator.

One would be apt to infer from this, that the antient Iriſh doctors leaned to Unitarian doctrines; or at leaſt that the Unitarian ſyſtem had followers, and was tolerated among them—indeed all thoſe who have recorded any thing of the Iriſh profeſſors of the early ages mention them chiefly as philoſophers *viſam hibernos ſophia Mirabili claros*—and indeed if they be meaſured not by the ſtandard of the eighteenth century, but by that of the darker ages in which they lived, their progreſs was far

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from contemptible, and ſeems to have merited the praiſes which we find beſtowed on the literature of Ireland by antient writers, by none more than the venerable Bede, the ornament of England, in the eighth century, a man ſuperior to his age and cotemporaries, in univerſal knowledge, his writings evince him well verſed in Greek and Latin literature, in the opinions of the antient philoſophers, in mathematics and hiſtory; his hiſtory of the Engliſh church is too well known, to need any mention here. The high reputation of the Iriſh ſchools is eſtabliſhed by his numerous and inconteſtible teſtimonies: The evidence of this great man, unbiaſſed as he muſt have been by any weak partiality towards a foreign nation, muſt appear to all impartial judges unexceptionable; yet ſuch is the unreaſonableneſs of national prejudice, that many of his modern countrymen are rather offended than convinced by the commendations he beſtows on a people, whom they are diſpoſed at any rate to vilify and hold up to ſcorn. The court of Rome looked on them with a jealous eye, and treated them as heretics, greatly diſpleaſed with the freedom of their diſcuſſions, concerning the articles of religion, and the contumacy with which they ſupported their private opinions, in defiance of authority; but the cenſures of Boniface fell heavieſt on Virgilius, an Iriſh monk and profeſſor of philoſophy in Germany, and afterwards archbiſhop of Saltzburg, who aſſerted the exiſtence of the antipodes, the rotundity of the earth, and its motion round the ſun (Uſher, ep. hib. 17, p. 50; Marc. Geſhicht D. Deutſch. 2, Theil. p 314.

This fact proves that aſtronomy had made ſome progreſs among the Iriſh, but the obnoxious ſyſtem, ſince revived by Copernicus, and demonſtrated to be true, was oppoſed by the influence of the clergy; it ſhews likewiſe that the Iriſh were not diſpoſed to yield implicit aſſent to the deciſions of any authority, againſt the conviction of their own reaſon, and the evidence of truth. Notwithſtanding this hoſtile diſpoſition of the Court of Rome, we find ſome Iriſhmen at the Court of Charlemagne, whom he commiſſioned, together with Alcumus, to lay the foundations of education in his extenſive dominions (Uſher, ſylloge, ep. eib. praef. p. 4. Vincent. Bellovacenſis, a writer of the thirteenth century, from the Chronicles of the Metropolitan Church of Arles, in a book entitled, Specul. Hiſtoriale, lib. 23, ch. 73, edit. Baſileæ, 1481. Hiſtoire lit. de la France, t. 4, p. 8 and 15. Bruck. Hiſt. Phil. t. 3, p. 629.)

Dungall in particular flouriſhed during this reign and that of Ludovicus his ſucceſſor, he owed his reputation principally

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to ſkill in philoſophy and aſtronomy; he had an opportunity of diſplaying in an addreſs to the Emperour, concerning the double eclipſe of the ſun which happened in the year 810. His next publication was a diſſertation on image worſhip, in which he acquitted himſelf from any partiality to that ſenſual devotion (Bibl. Patrum. max. t. 14, p. 196.) In the reign of Carolus Calvus, ſon of Ludovicus, the Iriſh philoſophers continued to enjoy the ſame honourable diſtinction, as under the preceding reigns; at the invitation of Charles, who was a zealous patron of letters, great numbers flocked from Ireland to France. The royal munificence towards men of letters was extolled with merited praiſe by Ericus Antiſſioderenſis in his dedication to the king of a poem on the life of Germanus. He repreſents in the uſual exaggerated ſtyle of panegyric, Greece lamenting that her brighteſt lumenaries were effaced by the ſuperiour luſtre of the Caroline Court. This tract has been publiſhed. In Actis Sanct. Antw. July, tome 7, p. 221; in p. 222, is the following remarkable paſſage: *Quid Hiberniam memorem contempto pelagi diſcrimine, pene totam cum grege philoſophorum, ad littorà noſtra migrantem.?* "What ſhall I ſay of Ireland, whoſe philoſophers migrate in crowds to our ſhores?" Among theſe, Joannes Scotus erigena held a diſtinguiſhed rank, by the acuteneſs of his genius, and his proficiency in elegant and polite literature. He won the eſteem and enjoyed the familiarity of the Emperor, by his extenſive learning, as well as the poignancy of his wit, and the facetious turn of his converſation, and was appointed by him to teach philoſophy publicly ſometimes in the palace and ſometimes in the city (from theſe beginnings, the univerſity of Paris was gradually formed,) with what ſubtility he handled philoſophical queſtions may be ſeen in his book Dediviſione Naturæ, edited by Gale (Oxford in Theat. 1681.) At the deſire of his Imperial patron he tranſlated the book De Celeſti Hierarchia, which a vulgar error attributed to Dionyſius Areopagita, from the Greek into Latin, at which the haughty Greek, Anaſtaſius Romanus, expreſſes his ſurpriſe in the following terms: *Mirandum eſt quomodo vir ille barbarus—talia intellectu capere in aliamq. lingnam tranſferre potuerit*: "'Tis aſtoniſhing, how a barbarian could comprehend ſuch matters, or tranſlate them into another language."

His religious opinions were cenſured in his own time. Moſheim is of opinion that he was the firſt who blended the ſcholaſtic with myſtic theology: 'tis related of him that he was afterwards employed by Alfred the Great to lay the foundation of a college which gradually enlarged, grew up by the addition

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of other colleges into the univerſity of Oxford: This account of the celebrated Erigena is extracted from the following writers: Tanner, Bib. Brit. hib. p. 263, Ham. Nechr. 3, Theil. p. 632, Mabill. pref. ad Sæcul. 4m. ord. Si. Ben. Pict. p. 128 and p. 2, p. 64, Bruck. Hiſt. Phil. t. 3, p. 614, Moſh. Hiſt. Eccl. Sæc. 9. pars. 2, a, c. 1. 0. 7.

Moſheim; (Hiſt. Eccl. Sæc. 8. p. 2 a. c. 1,) mentions another Iriſh doctor of the name of Macarius, who propagated in France the notion, afterwards adopted by Averroes, of an *anima mundi*; or univerſal ſoul. From all thoſe particulars, it appears that an unbounded licence of opinion and freedom of diſcuſſion were prevalent among thoſe contemplative philoſophers. We are at length arrived at the tenth century, called the iron age, or epoch of mental darkneſs, which covered Europe in ſpite of the liberal protection accorded by ſo many great princes to literature and men of letters, they could not conquer the inſuperable obſtacles that oppoſed the cultivation of knowledge, the turbulence of the feudal ſyſtem, the warlike habits of the great barons and the higher clergy; their predatory and almoſt inceſſant hoſtilities; their living inſulated in fortified caſtles; their predilection for bodily exerciſes, as hunting, racing, tilts, tournaments; their contempt for all profeſſions, but that of arms, cauſed the nobility to deſert if not deſpiſe letters, as a ſedentary effeminate occupation fit only for monks, to whom they were left. Poſſibly too they might look on the efforts of the court to advance learning, as a ſtratagem to diſarm, in a manner, their vaſſals, by diverting their attention from martial and manly exerciſes, to the tranquil purſuits of ſcience, certain it is that ignorance was cheriſhed by them and the ſecular clergy, and the other orders were too much depreſſed by vaſſalage, to aſpire to diſtinction by means of learning, when the rewards thereof were few and uncertain, the difficulties and expences very great, travelling inſecure and chargeable, and the prevailing ſuperſtition beheld with an evil eye ſuperior to mental attainments. All theſe cauſes contributed to render ignorance faſhionable, ſo much ſo, that the founder of a religious order, expreſsly enjoins his followers not to trouble their heads about learning, *qui neſciuns literas non curent literas diſcere, &c.*

What could be expected from the encouragement even of a prince againſt the force of prevalent faſhion. Ireland however ſtill preſerved ſomething of her former reputation; in the tenth century, ſhe could boaſt of her Cormac, King and Archbiſhop of Caſhel, a deep antiquary, and author of the Pſalter of Caſhel. The famous Dunſtan Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who as fable ſays caught the Devil by the noſe, and as more authentic

authentic accounts relate, was a man of conſiderable abilities for that age, and well ſkilled in the fine arts, ſuch as painting, muſic: a pupil of the Iriſh monks of Glaſtonbury, by his credit with the king he obtained for them many favours, as Oſbern the writer of his life obſerves; where he likewiſe adds that theſe monks kept a flouriſhing ſchool there: *hicmos vehementer adhuc manet hibernos, quorum multi atq. illuſtres viri, divinis ac ſæcularibus literis nobiliter eruditi dum relicta Hibernia in terram anglorum peregrinatnm veniſſent locumq. habitationis ſuæ gleſtoniam delegiſſent, nec tamen quecquid ſibi neceſſe erat ſuffioient:iſſime loco reperiſſent, ſuſcipiunt filios nobilium liberalibus ſtudijs erudiendos.* Nor was there a leſs reſort to France at the ſame period; among theſe we reckon Iſrael Scotus, under whoſe tuition Bruno, the brother of Otho the Great, made a diſtinguiſhed progreſs in letters, which he promoted with zeal afterwards as Archbiſhop of Cologne. (Hiſt. lit. de la France vu de St. Brunon, t. 6, p. 305, Acta. ſ. ord. Ben. Sœc. 5, p. 334.)

Coſdroas, Malcalenus and Toranan, were abbots and preſidents of ſchools in France; their lives are found in the acts of the order of St. Benedict, (l. c. p. 548 and 586, ob. 990.)—Duncan who was an Iriſh biſhop, wrote commentaries on the inſtitutions of Martianus Capella, and the geography of Pomponuis Mela. Both theſe works are ſtill extant, one in England, the other in France. (Hiſt. lit. de la France, t. 6, p. 049.) This unfortunate country after being harraſſed miſerably by the Danes and Norwegians, and other rovers of the Baltic, and torn by civil wars, during the long period of three centuries, at length fell under the dominion of the Normans; even then the antient literary reputation of Ireland was not immediately extinguiſhed, as we can collect from a document preſerved in the life of Sulgenus, biſhop of St. David's, about the year 1070. (Tanner Biblioth, Brit. hib. p. 699, Cambden's Brit. t. 2, p. 1318.) It mentions that he went to Ireland, where he dedicated thirteen years to ſtudy, and returned to his native country well ſtored with learning: *Exemplo patrum commotus amore legendi ivit ad Hibernos Sophia mirabili claros.* (Uſher in his preface to the Iriſh let.)

In the middle of this century, the peregrinations from Ireland to foreign parts continued as uſual, among the number were ſome of no ordinary attainments, as we find by the inſtance of Marianus Scotus, author of the Chronicles, a man endowed with an uncommon genius and penetration. He taught with great ſucceſs and applauſe in Fulda, Cologne, and Mayence, and departed this life in the year 1086. (Tanner, Bib. Brit. Hib. p. 511, Hamb. Nachricht, 3 Theil p. 791, Mariani Scoti Chronica,

nica, Baſileæ 1559, eum annot. Florentuis Wigorn. Chron. a. an. 1043.) This century likewiſe produced Tigernach, who wrote the annals of his country in the Iriſh language. (Ware, Hiſtory of Iriſh Writers, p. 311, Innes Critical Eſſays, p. 454. Many beſides are the monuments which atteſt the facts adduced here, monaſteries in various parts of Europe, founded by them and ſtill honouring their memory, churches dedicated to them, feſtivities celebrated to their remembrances, and provinces invoking them as their patron ſaints. Many other monuments in writing, partly publiſhed and partly buried in the obſcurity of cloiſters and libraries, and which, I truſt, will one day be dragged forth from their retreat, to throw additional light on this dark period and curious ſubject, which deſerves to be treated of in a ſeparate publication. Gyraldus himſelf acknowledges the ſuperior ſkill of the Iriſh in muſic, eſpecially on the harp and timbrell, *mira arte*, of their poetry he was no judge.

I ſhall now cloſe this Appendix, and hope it ſhall not appear prolix, when the multiplicity of matter and intereſting nature of the ſubject is conſidered. The calumnies and defamation circulated by Engliſh writers againſt the antient Iriſh, are here refuted, not by conjecture or ſpeculation, but by inconteſtible evidence of competent witneſſes, becauſe co-temporary and eye witneſſes, or nearly ſo, and impartial, becauſe foreigners.

APPENDIX,

NO. II.

IT is ſometimes aſked, in caſe any untoward event ſhould diſſolve our preſent connection with England, how in that caſe would we be ſecure from the inſults of our more powerful neighbours? Our danger to be ſure muſt be very imminent to create ſuch uneaſineſs in thoſe *prudent* advocates of an *unequal* connexion, which ſurrenders our independence and intereſts for protection. Would they condeſcend to inform me by what means, Denmark, Sweden, Swiſſerland, Venice, or Portugal maintain their independence? Ireland is much more conſidera-

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ble than either of the above-mentioned ſtates, and capable of being rendered vaſtly ſuperior to any of them; if they can ſecure their reſpectibility by means of their internal ſtrength and foreign alliances, could either of thoſe means fail us? Are we deficient either in numbers or valour; or is our country leſs tenable than theirs? So far from it, a little experience and diſcipline would ſoon equal the hardy ſons of Erin to any ſoldiers in Europe, and no country can be better fortified by nature than ours. A moderate number of troops, by keeping on the defenſive, by diſputing the paſſes of the mountains, lakes and bogs, might baffle any invading force, to which we may add the difficulty of carrying on offenſive operations in a cloſe country, where every field might form an entrenched camp.

The coaſt too is almoſt every where inacceſſible to ſhips of force, except in its bays and harbours; the entrance of theſe might eaſily be made impregnable. Our alliance would be courted by France, Spain, the Baltic Powers, and all thoſe who would be deſirous of partaking the advantages of trade and commodious ſituation as a place of rendezvous of victualling, &c. They would cultivate our friendſhip, in proportion to their jealouſy of England, and to the benefits that muſt accrue to them from the intercourſe. If Great Britain ſhould wiſely chuſe to continue on terms of amity, ſo much the better, if otherwiſe, we would have her enemies and our own friends as allies; ſhe might annoy our commerce for a time; but if we exported leſs, we would alſo import leſs, and the iſland produces an abundance of all the neceſſaries and comforts of life, neutral bottoms would as in the caſe of America convey our commodities to foreign markets; but what though our trade ſhould ſuffer a temporary interruption, though there ſhould be a ſcarcity of ſpecie and a ſtagnation of buſineſs, have not other nations borne all theſe inconveniencies and loſſes, in the glorious ſtruggle for independence and freedom: Who would be ſo puſillanimous, as not to ſubmit to temporary privations, to diſtreſs, for the ſake of purchaſing the ſalvation and permanent happineſs of his country? Will the merchant grumble at ſome additional riſques and loſſes in his trade, while the brave armed citizen is ready to ſhed his beſt blood in its defence?

Liberty is not the unbought grace of life: the rights of nations, are not vindicated without great ſacrifices and painful ſtruggles, they muſt be purchaſed at the expence of much danger, toil and bloodſhed; but who would grudge any price for ſo great a boon, which includes in itſelf and conſequences every thing valuable to man; every thing that exalts and dignifies his nature; that crowns him with ſcience, arts and abundance, and ſecures to him the tranquil enjoyment of every thing that makes

human

human condition desirable, or for which it is worth while to live. It is moreover to be observed that England is exhausted by her improvident prodigality, by her wasteful and impolitic wars and is likely to be further weakened by domestic dissentions, if the present ministry persevere in their plan of despotism, military government, &c. It cannot be supposed that the proud freeborn Britain will tamely surrender his birth-right, without even the bribe of a pot of porridge, or the charter of his privileges so often sealed with the blood of his ancestors.

Under all these circumstances, there is a probability that she would not attempt to make war on us, though we should declare ourselves independent, watched as she would be in all her motions, by a neighbouring, powerful and hostile republic always ready to take advantage of her mistakes. Set the worst case, we could with the help of our allies, annoy her more than she could annoy us. Privateers fitted out in every part of Europe under the Irish flag, could distress her from the ports of Munster alone, in such a manner, that the best part of her trade would be at our mercy; let her not talk of invading us, we could return the compliment, the distance is the same for each party, nor is the coast of Flanders far from England, it remains to satisfy other doubts concerning the means of terminating a contest for independence, and the benefits to be derived from it.

I beg leave to observe previously, that far from advising the dissolution of our connexion with England provided the terms be those of reciprocal advantage, 'tis only in supposition such an event came to pass, that I propose to answer the questions about the means of conquering our freedom, and the benefits resulting therefrom: the simple enumeration of our resources and natural advantages, will quickly dispel all doubts; but so great and numerous are they, that it would require volumes to do justice to the subject, my plan will scarcely allow me to trace the outlines, and sketch the leading articles under different heads: Agriculture, the first most essential and noblest of professions, has gained much ground among us: freed from the oppressions of tythes, rack rents and middle men, it would flourish beyond calculation in so fertile a soil as ours is acknowledged to be, aided as it would be by a judicious union of pasture with tillage, confessedly the best mode of husbandry; by the improvement of the implements and manner of culture, by the lights which chemistry affords to ascertain the qualities of soils; their relative fitness for the various kinds of produce, and the manures specifically adapted to them. As there is inexhaustible store it belongs to a treatise on agriculture to enter minutely into the improvements that should be introduced; one circumstance, however, I cannot pass by in silence, *i. e.* the obvious advantage of substituting bullocks for

horses

horſes in the plow, cart, and wherever the labour of the former moſt uſeful animal could be employed; as this innovation would be found not only beneficial to individuals in point of economy and profit, but likewiſe conſidered in the view of public utility, in its relation with the manufactures, proviſions, &c. an object of the greateſt importance: The prime coſt is leſs, the ox is liable to fewer diſeaſes, cheaper fed, capable of enduring labour more conſtantly, and in the end may be fattened and ſold for perhaps more than he coſt.

Manufactures the offſpring of agriculture come next to be conſidered: and firſt, the flouriſhing ſtate of the linen manufacture, as it does credit to the national induſtry and ingenuity, ſo it diſpenſes with us from dwelling much upon it: if it be true that an expeditious mode of bleaching be practicable without injuring the texture of the cloth, and that the tedious proceſs of ſtripping the rind from the ſtem, might be abridged by a chemical proceſs. Too great deſiderata would be found. It may not be ſuperfluous to notice, that we have rivals in this manufacture, who are daily growing more formidable, in Sileſia, North Germany, Ruſſia, the French and Auſtrian Netherlands; they poſſeſs ſome advantages above us, ſuch as cheapneſs of land and labour; America too will not be long behind. It behoves us therefore to look ſharp, encourage invention and turn it to account.

The woollen manufacture challenges the next place, and is entitled to every degree of attention, formerly the ſtaple commodity of this kingdom, it might and ought to become ſo again: when we conſider the vaſt quantity of land in this iſland, better qualified for a ſheep walk than the plow, the fine paſturage and perpetual verdure that cover moſt of our mountainy tracts and hills, the expediency of uniting the rearing of ſheep with tillage even in the corn countries, in an agricultural point of view; the plenty of after-graſs that ſprings up with and after the crop, and in ſome places the neceſſity of checking the too luxuriant growth of young corn, by turning in the ſheep.

It is evident that the woollen manufacture might be carried on on a moſt extenſive ſcale, employ millions of hands and bring immenſe wealth into a country poſſeſſed of ſuch quantities of the raw material, and of the means of multiplying it to almoſt any given pitch, not to mention the beneficial influence it would have on a great branch of the leather manufacture, by furniſhing the currier with the raw material of his trade. Now that mention has occurred of the leather manufacture, it muſt give concern to every patriotic mind to ſee the vaſt exportation of raw hides as well as wool, which robs us of an uſeful manufacture, and ſubjects us to repurchaſe dearly our own commodities

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wrought up in a foreign land, and obliges the poorer ſort to go barefoot, many inferior branches of great utility I ſhall not even glance at, ſuch as paper, glaſs, &c. as an accurate deſcription or detail of all our reſources is foreign to my preſent plan. But the ſubject of mines and the various manufactures connected with them, it were unpardonable to omit. No country is better ſtored with thoſe ſubterraneous riches either in quantity or variety; all the metals commonly called precious, are found and will continue to be diſcovered in great plenty: rich mines of copper, lead, cobalt are already diſcovered and ſome worked; but the important treaſure in this way conſiſts in the great iron and coal mines lying contiguous to the river Shannon, in ſuch inexhauſtible abundance, as to be more than adequate for the ſupply of all Ireland to the end of time, requiring ſo little labour to obtain them, that they are ſcarcely covered from the injuries of the air by a thin ſtratum of earth, ſo that every part of the kingdom may be ſupplied at a cheap rate, with the invaluable convenience of good fuel, and the moſt uſeful of metals, through the means of inland navigation; a benefit that could at a trifling expence be extended to every diſtrict in the iſland, as the principal rivers take their riſe near the Shannon, and might be connected with it by ſhort cuts, while the majeſtic ſtream, navigable from every ſource, and eaſily connected by cuts, with a chain of lakes flowing into one another at moderate diſtances to the northern extremity of Ulſter, which would thus form a navigable communication between the north and ſouth oceans, while ſubordinate branches of this immenſe chain of inland navigation, would carry induſtry and abundance in its train, through every corner of the land, annihilating in a manner the diſtance of places, and imparting to the remoteſt all the advantages of an immediate vicinity, an unſpeakable advantage to agriculture, as well as manufactures, its importance is readily felt, when we conceive that the benefits derived to agriculture or manufactures, from the neighbourhood of a great city would then be univerſally extended to the remoteſt tracts, inaſmuch that it might be ſaid with propriety, whenever the plan is accompliſhed, that Ireland for all uſeful purpoſes, forms but one city.

As for ſafe bays, capacious, deep harbours and havens, the world cannot produce any thing equal in a country of the ſame extent, all the ſhipping of Europe might commodiouſly ride in them, and every wind that blows muſt be favourable to ſome of them. All theſe advantages with your commodious poſition in the Atlantic, muſt ſooner or later attract the commerce of the world, in a degree proportionable to your wants and intereſts. Oh! ye great, whoſe enviable deſtiny it was to inherit property

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in this delicious, fertile iſland, ſo much favoured by Providence, ſo much neglected and injured by man ; rouze yourſelves from your downy indolence, wain yourſelves from the childiſh toys of your vanity and miſguided ambition, from your empty pleaſures, your frivolous amuſements, your pernicious diſſipations, dare to breathe the freſh and delicious country air, and view the glories of the dawn and the riſing ſun, viſit your paternal eſtates, where you will find more ſolid enjoyments, more laſting and ſincere pleaſures than in the crouded circles of faſhion, or the palaces of kings : go ſurround yourſelves with a paradiſe of your own creation, encourage the plow and loom, let the daughters of your tenants learn to ſpin linen and woollen yarn.

Oh ! what an enviable power you poſſeſs, that of creating a healthy, contented, induſtrious race of affectionate ſubjects around your manſion of diffuſing gladneſs, competence and plenty, where want and miſery pined before. Truly this is noble ambition, to encreaſe your wealth by the ſame means that diffuſe the comforts of life to all around. Is not this more noble, more dignified, than to ſtand recorded the penſioned venal ſlave of every raſcal in power, compelled to drudge through all his dirty jobs and vile manœuvres.

Oh ! is there not ſome patriot in whoſe power,
That beſt that Godlike luxury is placed,
Of bleſſing thouſands, thouſands yet unborn,
Through late poſterity, ſome large of ſoul
To chear dejected induſtry, to give
A double harveſt to the pining ſwain,
And teach the labouring hind the ſweets of toil.

THOMPSON.

FINIS.

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